

EVROPAE SPECVLVM
OR,
A VIEW OR SVRVEY
OF THE STATE OF RELIGION
in the VVesterne
parts of the world.

VVherein the Romane
*Religion, and the pregnant policies of the
Church of Rome to support the same, are
notably displayed: with some o-
ther memorable discoveries and
Commemorations.*

Published according to the Authours Ori-
ginall Copy, and acknowledged by him for
a true Copy.

Multum dinq̃ue desideratum.



LONDON,
Printed by T. Cotes, for Michael Sparke, and are to
be sold by George Hutton, at the Turning stile
in Holborne, 1637. 29 X

The Glasse doth Runne, and Time doth Goe,

Study me in thy Prime



Death hath his End I have not so.

Eury Death and weary Time.



The well meaning Pub-
lisher hereof to the understan-
ding Reader of what rancke
or degree soever.

WHereas not many yeares past, there was
published in Print, a Treatise entituled,
A Relation of Religion of the
Westerne parts of the World, Printed for
~~one Simon Waterston~~, 1605. Without name
of Author, yet generally and currantly passing
under the name of the learned and worthy Gentle-
man Sir Edwin Sandys Knight; Know all men
by these presents that the same Booke was but
a spurious stolne Copy, in part epitomized, in part
amplified, and throughout most shamefully falsified
and false Printed, from the Authors Originall; In
so much, that the same Knight was infinitely
* 2 wronged.

To the Reader.

wronged thereby : and as soone as it came to his knowledge, that such a thing was Printed and passed under his name, he caused it (though somewhat late, when, it seemes, two Impressions were for the most part vented) to be prohibited by Authority; and as I have heard, as many as could be recovered, to be deservedly burnt, with power also to punish the Printers: And yet, neverthelesse, since that time there hath beene another Impression of the same stolne into the world. Now those so adulterate copies being scattered abroad, and in the hands of some men, I (yet studious of the truth, and a lover of my Country; and having obtained by a direct meanes, of a dcere friend, a perfect Copy, verbatim transcribed from the Authours Origin. and legitimate one, of his own hand-writing have thoght good to publish it unto the world; first, for the good of the Church, secondly, the glory of our English Nation; thirdly, for the fame of the ingenuous and ingenious and acute Author, a Gentleman, who deserved right well of his Country And lastly, that the world may be no longer deprived of so rare a Jewell, in its owne lustre, nor abused by the other counterfeited one, before named.

To the Reader,

I cannot see how any should be offended hereat,
but such as are sworne slaves to their Lord God the
Pope, whose Romane kingdome, and Babylonian
tottering tower, hath such a blow given it hereby,
as I know but few of such force; and not many such
blowes more, will make the same Kingdome and
Tower fall downe to the ground, with utter desola-
tion.

Vale in Christo,
& fruer.



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(which may serve in stead of Chapters) con-
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A
VIEW OR SVRVEY OF
THE STATE OF RELIGI-
ON IN THE WESTERNE
PARTS OF THE WORLD.

ANNO, 1599.

TO THE MOST REVEREND FA-
THER IN CHRIST, IOHN WHITGIFT
ARCH-B. OF CANTERBURY.

MY singular good Lord. Having finished
now almost my entended course of tra-
uell, and drawing withall towards the
expiration of the time praesined thereto:
comming to cast up as it were the short accompts
of my labours, employed chiefly (as was from the
first my principal desien) in viewing the **STATE**
of **RELIGION** in these Westerne parts of
the World and the divided Factions and Profes-
sions thereof; with their differences in matter
of Faith, in the Exercises of Religion, in Go-
vernment ecclesiasticall, and in Life and conver-
sation: what vertues in each kind eminent, what

ēminēt defects, moreover in what termes of opposition or correspondence each stands with other, what probabilities, what policies, what hopes, what jealousies, are found in each part for the advancing thereof; and finally, what possibility and good meanes of uniting at least wile the severall branches of the Reformed Professours; if unity universall be more to be desired than hoped, in such bitterneffe of mindes, and aquality of forces, as leaveth on neither side either disposition to yeeld; or doubt to be vanquished. In the midst of these thoughts the great place which your Grace holdeth in our Church and Common-wealth next under her Majesty, did advise me in duty, as great worthinesse joyned with favour towards my selfe in particular did presse me, in humble and serviceable affection to yeeld unto your Grace some account of those my travels in that kinde; not intending to deliver a full report of all those points, which would too much exceed the proportion of any Letter to write, and perhaps of your Graces leasure also to reade; but restraining my selfe chiefly to such parts and places, as may seeme most necessary for our Country to be knowne, and give your Grace also in likely hood most content in recognizing them.

THE Romane Religion; which of all other Christian, I suppose to have most manifoldly declined and degenerated from the truth and purity of that divine Originall once so well published and placed amongst them; as having in those middle times when there were none to controll them, light into the hands and handling of such men as made their greatnesse, wealth and honour, the very rules whereby to square out the Canons of Faith, and then set Clerkes on worke to devise arguments to uphold them, seemes notwithstanding at this day not so corrupt in the very doctrine, as in Schooles they deliver it, and publish it in their writings; where manifold opposition doth hold them in awe; and hath caused them to refine it; as it is in the practise thereof, and in their usage among themselves; wherein they are as grosse in a manner as ever: so that sundry whom the reading of their bookes hath allured, the view of their Churches hath averted from their party.

For to omit the endlesse multitude of **Superstitions and Ceremonies** enough to take up a great part of a mans life to gaze on and to peruse; being neither uniforme in all places, as some would pretend, but different in diverse Countries: an huge sort of them are so childish also and unsavory, that as they argue great sillinesse and rawnesse in their inventors, so can they naturally bring no other than disgrace and contempt to those exercises of Religion wherein they are stirring.

And to reſtraine my ſelfe in this part eſpecially to Italy, where the Romaine Religion doth principally flouriſh; the communicating Divine Honour to Saints and Angels, by building Churches, erecting Altars, commending prayers, addreſſing vowes unto them; by worſhipping their Images; going in Pilgrimage to their Reliques, attributing all kind of miracles both to the one and other; hath wrought this generall effect in thoſe parts, that men have more affiance and aſſume unto them a greater concept of comfort in the patronage of the Creatures and ſervants of God, then of God himſelfe the Prince and Creatour. And touching the bleſſed Virgin the caſe is cleare, that howſoever their doctrine in Schooles be otherwiſe, yet in all kind of outward actions, the Honour which they doe her is double for the moſt part unto that which they doe our Saviour: where one doth profeſſe himſelfe a *Devoto* or peculiar ſervant of our Lord; whole townes ſometimes, as *Siena* by name, are the *Devoti* of our Lady.

- The ſtateliſt Churches are hers lightly, and in Churches hers the faireſt Altars; where one prayeth before the Crucifix, two before her Image, where one voweth to Chriſt, tenné vow unto her; and not ſo much to her ſelfe, as to ſome peculiar Image, which for ſome ſelect vertue or grace together with greater power of operation of miracles they chiefly ſerve, as the glorious *Lady* of *Loretto*, the devout *Lady* of *Rome*, the miraculous *Lady* of *Provenzano*, the *Annunciata* of *Florence*;

rence; whose Churches are so stuffed with vowed
 presents and memories, that they are faine to
 hang their Cloysters also and Churchyards with
 them. Then as their vowes are, such are their
 pilgrimages. And to nourish this humour; for
 one miracle reported to be wrought by the Cru-
 cifix, not so few perhaps as an hundred are voiced
 upon those other Images. Yea their devils in
 exorcisme are also taught (for who can thinke o-
 therwise?) to endure the conjuring on them by the
 name of God and the Trinity without trouble
 or motion; but at the naming of our Lady to tesse
 and torment; as feeling now a new force of an un-
 resistable power. Neither will I omit this no
 lesse certaine, though lesse apparent; where one
 fasts on Friday, which they compt our Lords
 day in devotion to him; many fast the Saturday;
 which there they compt our Ladies day; and in
 devotion to her. In all which the people doe but
 follow their guides, who as in the admeasuring of
 devotions by tale on beads, they string up ten sa-
 lutations of our Lady to one of our Lords Pray-
 ers, so themselves also in their Sermons make
 their entrance with an *ante Mary*: yea and the so-
 lemnest divine honour which I see in those parts,
 and which being well used were to be highly re-
 noumed and recommended to the imitation of
 all worthy Christians; namely, that thrise a day,
 at sun-rise, at noone, and sun-set, upon the ringing
 of a bell, all men in what place soever they bee,
 whether, Field, Streete, or Market, kneele downe
 and send up their united devotions to the high
 Court

Court of the world. This honour is by them intended chiefly to our Lady, and the devotion advised is the *Ave Mary*, and the Bell which rings to it hath also that name. And lastly their chiefe Preachers doe teach in Pulpit, that the Church doth very well whatsoever is found in Scripture spoken of Christ the Sonne of God, to apply it to our Lady also, being the daughter of God: that it is the opinion of a learned man and not contrary to the Catholicke Faith, that though *Adam* had not sinned, yet Christ should have beene incarnate to doe our Lady honour; that all the Angels and Saints of Heaven are vassals unto them both, and cast downe their crownes at the feete of both, and present mens supplications kneeling unto both; that our bond of duty and thankfulnessse must needs bee exceeding to her; seeing it may be said after a sort, that Man is more advanced in her than in Christ himselfe, seeing in Christ the nature of Man is exalted onely, in our Lady, the very person also, which Christ hath not; Finally, that nothing passeth in Heaven without her expresse consent, that the stile of that Court is *Placet Dominæ*: yea they are taught that matters of Iustice come more properly from him, and expeditions of Grace from her, and that some rare holy men have seene in vision, that certaine whom Christ would have condemned; yet in regard they were her servants, by her intercession have beene absolved: so that no man neede marveile if this doctrine and practise have diverted the principall

streames

streames of affiance and love," from him; who had the onely right unto them; and turned them up on those, unto whom neither so great honour is due, nor so undue honour can be accepted.

Their **Liturgies** being not understood by the people, are notable to hold them with any spirituall content. For supply whereof, they confine them to the chammings of their beads in the meane season: which being so unsavory a food as it is (and they use it accordingly) when they are weary of it, they entertaine the rest of the time with talke and mirth; (which the Priests also themselves at their leasure forbear not,) not forgetting yet to shew devotion at certaine pauses by Spirits; wherein their outward gestures are decent, reverent, significant. Howbeit I suppose in generall I may truly say, that the Romanes Catholickes are the most irreverent and wandring at Divine Service that a man shall see any where, (the Iewes onely excepted; who are in that kind in all places incredibly intollerable;) though on the other side that honour is to be yeelded in the Italian Nation, that he is naturally not undevout, were his devotion well guided and duely cherished, and not starved and quenched in the darke myst of a language, where hee neither understandeth what is said to him, nor yet what himselfe saith.

The best part of their exercises of Religion are their **Sermons**; wherein much good matter both of faith and piety is eloquently delivered, by men surely of wonderfull zeale and Spirit, if
their

their interiour fervour be correspondent to their outward vehemence. Howbeit they are sometime mingled with so palpable vanity, that besides other poverties, as forced allegories and unnaturall interpretations, wherein they are frequent; even those Legends of Saints and tales at which children with us would smile; are there solemnly historized in their Cathedrall Pulpits, But certainly what religiousnesse soever is in the peoples mindes, may wholly or chiefly be attributed to their Sermons, whereto the better disposed people doe very diligently resort: their Service being no other than as a lampe put out, which bringing no light at all to the understanding, can neither bring any due warmth to the affection, the one being inseparable from the other: and were it not that their musicke, perfumes and rich sights, did hold the outward senses, with their naturall delight; surely it could not be but either abandoned for the fruitlesse, or only upon feare and constraint frequented.

This one thing I cannot but highly commend in that sort and order: they spare nothing that either Cost can performe in Enriching, or skill in **Adorning the Temples** of God, or to set out his service with the greatest pompe and magnificency that can be devised, wherein notwithstanding it were to be wished that some discreeter men had beene the contrivers and Masters of their **Ceremonies**, to have affected in them more statelinesse, reverence and devotion, and to have avoyded that Fryerly busie basenesse and childishnesse

nesse which is now in them prædominant. And
 although I am not ignorant that many men well
 reputed have embraced the thrifty opinion of
 that Disciple, who thought all to be wasted that
 was bestowed on Christ in that sort, and that it
 were much better employed upon him in the
 poore, yet with an eye perhaps that themselves
 would be his quarter Almoners : notwithstanding
 I must confesse, it could never sincke into my
 heart, that in proportion of reason, the allow-
 ance for the furnishing out of the Service of God
 should be measured by the skant and strict rule of
 meere necessity, (a proportion so low, that na-
 ture to other most bountifull, in matters of ne-
 cessity hath not failed no not the most unnoble
 Creatures in the world ;) and that for our selves
 no measure of heaping, but the most wee can get ;
 no rule of expence, but to the utmost pompe wee
 list ; or that God himselfe had enriched this low-
 er part of the World with such wonderfull varie-
 ty of things beautifull and glorious, that they
 might serve onely to the pampering up of mortall
 man in his pride ; and that the service of the high
 Creatour Lord and Giver, (the outward glory
 of whose higher palace may appeare by the very
 lamps which wee see so farre off burning so glori-
 ously in it) onely the simpler, baser, cheaper,
 lesse noble, lesse beautifull, lesse glorious things
 should be employed : especially seeing even as in
 Princes Courts, so in the service of God also, this
 outward state and glory being well disposed,
 doth engender, quicken, encrease and nourish, the
 inward

inward reverence and respectfull devotion which is due unto so soveraigne Majestie and power, which those whom the use thereof cannot perswade so, would easily by the want of it be forced to confesse. For which cause I must crave to bee excused by them herein, if in zeale of the Honour of the common Lord of all, I choose rather to commend the vertue of an enemy, than to flatter the vice or imbecilitie of a friend.

But to returne to the Church of Rome, and to come to the consideration of their **Penance and Confession**, out of which so great good is promised to the World, and the want whereof is so much upbraided to their opposites: I must confesse, I brought with mee this perswasion and expectation, that surely in reason and very course of nature, this must needs bee a very great restraint to wickednesse, a great meanes to bring men to integritie and perfection; when a man shall as it were daily survey his actions and affections, censure with griefe, confesse with shame, cure by counsell, expiate with punishment, extinguish with firme intent never to returne to the like againe, whatsoever hath defiled or stayned his soule. Neither doubt I but it had this fruit in the first institution, and hath also with many at this day; yea and might have beene perhaps better restored in Reformed Churches to his primitive sinceritie, than utterly abolished, as in most places it is. Notwithstanding, having diligently searched into the menaging thereof in those parts, I finde that as all things

things whereof humane imbecillitie hath the Custodie and government, in time (decaying by unsensible degrees) fall away from their first perfection and puritie, and gather much soyle and drosse in using ; so this as much as any thing.

For this point of their Religion, which in outward shew carieth a face of severitie and discipline, is become of all other most remisse and pleasant, and of greatest content even to the dissoluteſt minds, the matter being growne with the common sort to this open reckoning ; What need wee refraine so fearefully from sinne, God having provided so ready a meanes to bee rid of it when wee list againe ? Yea, and the worser sort will say, when we have sinned we must confesse ; and when we have confessed we must sinne againe, that wee may also confesse againe, and withall make worke for new Indulgences and Iubilies : making account of Confession as professed drunkards of Vomiting : Yea I have knowne of those that carry a show of very devout persons, who by their owne report, to excuse their acquaintance in matters criminall, have wittingly perjured themselves in judgement ; onely presuming of this present and easie remedy of Confession : and other of more than ordinary note among them, who when their time of confessing was at hand, would then venture on those actions which before they trembled ; as presuming to surfeit by reason of neighbourhood with the Physician : which Physician also himselſe is perhaps more often infected by the noysome diseases

b ij

which

which his patient discloseth, than the patient any way bettered by the counsell which the Physician giveth; though this should bee the very principall vertue of that act. But this must bee graunted to be the fault of the people: yea a generall fault it is, and currant with small controulment.

Howbeit neither are the Priests or Pope to bee more excused perhaps in their parts. The Priests will tell the penitents that God is mercifull; that what sinne soever a man committeth, so long as hee continueth in the Church, and is not a **Lutheran**, there is good remedy for him. And for Penance, it consisteth ordinarily, but in **Abbe-Maries** and **Water Hosters**, with some easie almes to them that are able, and some little fasting to such as are willing; yea I have knowne, when the penance for horrible and often blasphemie, besides much other leudnesse, hath beene no other than the bare saying of their beads thrice over; a matter of some houres muttering, and which in *Italy* they dispatch also as they goe in the streets, or rid businesse at home; making no other of it, than as it is, two lippes and one fingers worke. But were the penance which the Priests enjoyne never so hard and sharp, the holy Fathers plenarie pardon sweeps all away at a blow. Now of these they have graunted (and this man especially) so huge a number, that I wene there are few Churches of note in *Italy*, which have not purchased or procured a perpetuall plenarie Indulgence; by vertue where-
of,

of, whosoever at certaine set yearely dayes, being confest, and having communicated, (or as in some pardons, having intent onely to confesse and communicate in time convenient) powres out his devotions before some altar in that Church, and extends his hands in almes to the behoofe thereof, (which clause in all former graunts was expressed, but is now left out for avoyding of scandall, but still understood and practised accordingly) hath forthwith free remission of all sinne and punishment. Yea if the worst fall out, that a man bee so negligent as to drop into Purgatorie, at the time of his decease, (which but by very supine negligence can hardly happen:) Yet few Cities are there wherein there are not one or two Altars priviledged *Pro defunctis*, where for every Masse sayd a soule is delivered: and so great multitude of **Artizans** must needs make their ware cheape. I will not here warble long upon this untunable harsh string, neither will mention perhaps the fortieth part of what I have seene, much lesse will I now rake up old rustie stufte out of the dead dust and darkenesse wherein time and shame hath suffered it to rest: Onely for example sake, and for verifying of what I have sayd, I will set downe some of that which is in use at this day, which is printed on their Church-doores and proclaimed in their Pulpits.

In the **Eremitane** at *Padova*, their preachers very solemnely publish a graunt of plenary

narie Indulgence from Baptisme to the last confession, with twentie eight thousand yeares over for the time ensuing. The pardon of *Alexander the sixt* for thirtie thousand yeares, to whosoever before the Altar of our Lady, with Christ and her Mother, shall say a peculiar Ave, importing that our Lady was conceived without sinne, is Printed a new in Italy, and pictured in fairest sort: But these are for short times. At the Sepulchre of Christ in *Venice*, a stately representation, whereon is written, *Hic situm est Corpus Domini nostri Iesu Christi*, (yet inferring no reall presence thereby, as I take it) with verses annexed of *Conditur hoc tumulo*; there is hanging in a printed table a prayer of S. *Austine*, a very good one indeede, with Indulgence for fourescore and two thousand yeares, graunted from *Boniface the eighth*, and confirmed by *Benedict the eleventh*, to whosoever shall say it, and that for every day. *toties quoties*; which yet is somewhat worth, that in a few dayes a man may provide for a whole million of Worlds, if they did last no longer than this hath done hitherto. In Saint *Francis* Church at *Padova* I heard a Reverend Father preach at large the holy historie of the divine pardon of *Sisa*, *Ab omni culpa & pœnâ*, graunted by Christ in person at our Ladies suit unto Saint *Francis*, extended to all such as being confest, and having communicated should pray in Saint *Francis* Church there of *Santa Maria de gli Angeli*; yet sending him for orders sake to his Vicar Pope *Honorius* that then was

was to passe it, with many other re-appearitions and delectable strange accidents of solace and content to the pleasant minded beleivers: Which Pardon is since enlarged by *Sixtus Quartus* and *Quintus* (who both were *Franciscans*) to all lay brethren and sisters that weare *Saint Francis Cordon* in what place soever. But to leave these Antiquities, and not to enlarge in Moderne graunts, but to restraine to one Pope of renowned fresh memorie even *Gregory the thirteenth*, and some few of his Graces, hee hath granted to the *Carmin* at *Siena* for every Masse sayd there at the Altar of the Crucifix, the deliverie of a soule out of Purgatorie whose they list, the like to many other. To the *Carmin* at *Padova* more liberally to every one that shall say seven **Aves** and seven **Water-Possters** before one of their Altars on the anniversarie Wednesday in Easter weeke, or else kisse the ground before the Altar of the blessed Sacrament with the usuall prayers for exaltation of the Church, extirpation of Heresie, and unitie of Christian Princes, both plenarie Indulgence for himselfe and the deliverie of what friends soule out of Purgatorie hee pleaseth. To the Fraternitie of the Altar of the Conception of our Lady in the *Duomo* or Cathedrall Church at *Padova*, confessing and communicating at their entrie to that societie, full remission of their sinnes at the houre of their death, naming Iesus with their mouth, (or if they cannot) with their Heart. The like ordinarily graunted to other Fraternities. To every Priest so often as hee shall

shall say five printed lines, importing that hee will offer up the precious body of our Saviour, so many fiftie yeares pardon. Yet will I mention one also of the graunts of this Pope, among other innumerable, namely to the Friers and lay Fraternitie of both Sexes of the *Carmine* at *Siena*; for every time they are present at their solemne Processions, plenarie Indulgence for all sinnes past and Seven yeares and seven *Quadragenas* or fortie dayes over in store for the time to come, and this for ever: with extent of like Grace to all other that with their presence shall honour those Processions, but to last for them no longer than the yeare of **Jubilee**. Now besides these and infinite other of this style, there are Indulgences more free, and lesse restrained eyther for time, place, or dutie to gaine them: By graunt from Pope *Iohn* the xxth. every inclining of the Head at the naming of Iesus gets xx. yeares pardon: a matter in Italy no not this day unpractised. And to grace that Ceremonie the more, I have heard sundry of their renowned Divines teach in Pulpit; that Christ himselfe on the Crosse bowed his head on the right side, to reverence his owne Name which was written over it. All Altars of Station (which are in very great number) have their perpetuall Indulgences indifferent for all times. Sundry Crosses engraven on the pavements of their Churches, have Indulgence annexed for every time they are kist, which is so often by the devouter sex, that the hard marble is worne with it. The third and fourth

fourth ~~Pass~~ (as they say) of every Priest, is a preservative or ransome of his Parents from Purgatorie, yea though they should be sung without such intention: which causeth many warie men that would bee sure from Purgatorie, to make some one or other of their sonnes a Priest alwayes.

The saying of the Beads over with a medall or other trinket of the Popes **Benediction** appendant, gets plenarie Indulgence, and delivers what soule out of Purgatorie one pleaseth. And it is lawfull for one to substitute any other medall in place of those blessed ones, which shall have like force with them. A clause of consideration, and which serveth at this day more turnes than one, and theirs especially which passe over Sea with double daunger. All which with many other like helpes considered; I must confesse for my part I am farre from their understanding, who blaze so much the severitie of the **Romaine Religion**; unlesse wee accompt that a streit inclosure, which hath a multitude of posternes continually open, to let false people in and out, day and night at their pleasure: and rather incline to a contrary conceipt, that præsupposing the truth of their doctrine as it is practised, for a man that were desirous to save his Soule at his dying day, and yet denying his Body no wicked pleasure in his life time, no such Church as that of Rome, no such Countrey as *Italy*.

For I must speake also somewhat of their **Life and Conversation**, but as briefly as may bee; being a theam I take very small delight to handle,

neither being of any great profit to bee knowne. And yet is it knowne sufficiently to all men, and too much to some, who not content to sport themselves with all Italian impurities, proceed on to empoysen their country also at their returne thither: that wee neede not marveill if those rarer Villanies which our Auncestours never dreamed of, doe now grow frequent; and such men whom they would have swept out of the streets of their Cities, as the noysome disgrace and dishonour of them, and confined to a Dungeon or other desolate habitation, doe vaunt themselves now, and with no meane applause, for the onely gallants and worthy spirits of the World.

But to touch so many of their lives in *Italy* as shall bee necessarie for this purpose, and rather indeed the causes than the effects themselves: it is not to bee marveiled, if the glorie of their Religion consisting most in outward shewes, and the exquisitenesse in an infinity of intricate dumb Ceremonies; if their devotions being not seasoned with understanding requisite, but prized more by tale than by weight of zeale; if as the vertue of their Sacraments, so their acts of Pietie, being placed more in the very massie materialitie of the outward worke, than in the puritie of the heart from which they proceed: It is nor, I say, to bee marveiled though the fruits also of conversation bee like unto those roots; rather such as may yeeld some reasonable outward obedience to Lawes, than approve the inward

ward integritie and sinceritie of that fountaine from which they issue.

For although in their civill cariage one towards another, they have especiall good vertues well worth the imitating, being a people for the most part of a grave and stayed behaviour, very respectiue and courteous, not curious or meddling in other mens matters, besides that auncient frugalitie in dyet and all things not durable, which to their great ease and benefit they still retaine; and there bee also among them as in all other places, some men of excellent and rare perfection: yet can it not bee dissembled; but that generally, the whole Country is strangely overflowne and overborne with wickednesse, with filthinesse of speech, with beastlinesse of actions; both Governours and Subjects, both ~~Priests~~ and ~~Friers~~, each striving as it were with other in an impudentnesse therein; even so farre forth, that what elsewhere would not bee tolerated, is there in high honour; what in some other places even a loose person would bee ashamed to confesse, there Priests and Friers refraine not openly to practise. Yea if any man forbear the like, they finde it very strange and hold integritie for little better than sillinesse or abjectnesse. I cannot herē forget the saying of an Italian Gentleman of very good qualitie, but in faction Spanish, at my first entry into Italy; namely, that the Italians were excellent men but for three faults they had: In their lusts they were unnaturall; their malice was unappeasable; and they deceived the

whole world : whereto as for rare Corallaries in those faculties, he might have truly added, they spend more upon other than upon themselves ; they blaspheme oftner than sweare, and murder more than they revile or slander.

Notwithstanding, this testimonie I yeeld not onely willingly but gladly to them; (for what joy could it be, what greefe ought it not be, to the heart of any man, to see men fall irrecoverably from the love and lawes of the Creatour ?) that at one time of the yeare, namely, at **Lent**, they are much reformed ; no such blaspheming nor dyrtie speaking as before ; their vanities of all sorts layd reasonably aside ; their pleasures abandoned ; their apparrell, their dyet, and all things else composed to austeritie and state of penitence : they have daily then their preaching with collections of almes, whereto all men resort : and to judge of them by the outward shew, they seeme generally to have very great remorse of their wickednesse. In so much that I must confesse, I seemed unto my selfe in *Italy* to have best learned the right use of **Lent** ; there first to have discerned the great fruit of it, and the reason for which those **Sages** at first did institute it. Neither can I easily accord to the fancies of such, as because we ought at all times to lead a life worthy of our professiō, think it therefore superstitious to have one time wherein to exact or expect it more than other ; but rather doe thus conceive, that seeing the corruption of times and wickednesse of mens nature is now so exorbitant, that an hard matter it is to hold the ordinariē sort of

men at all times within the lists of pietie, iustice and sobrietie ; it is fit therefore there should bee one time at least in the yeare and that of reasonable continuance, wherein the season it selfe, the use of the world and practise of all men, (for even the Iewes and Turkes have their Lentis although differente,) the commandement of Superiours, the provision of fit meanes to assist therein, and in sum, the very outward face and expectation as it were of all things, should constrain men how wicked and recklesse soever, for that time at least to recall themselves to some more severe cogitations and courses ; lest sinne having no such bridle to checke it at any time, should at length wax head-strong and unconquerable in them : and that on the other side being thus necessarily inured for a while, though but to make a bare shew of walking in the paths of vertue, they might afterwards perhaps more sincerely and willingly persist, (as custome makes hard things pleasant,) or at leastwise retorne more readily againe unto them some other time. And verily I have had sundry times this cogitation in *Italy*, that in so great loosenesse of life and decay of discipline in those parts, it was the especiall great mercy and grace of God that the severitie of Lent should yet still bee preserved, lest otherwise the floods of sinne growing so strong and outrageous, and having no where either bound or banke to restraine them, might plunge that whole nation in such a gulfe of wickednesse, and bring them to that last extremitie, which should

leave them neither hope of better, nor place but for worse. Yea and was so farre from thinking the institution of Lent superfluous, or the retaining of it unprofitable; that I rather enclined to like the custome of the Greeke Church, who besides the great Lent have three other Lents also at solemne times in the yeare; though those other neither so long, neither yet of so strict and generall observation. Two things are farther to bee added in the honour of *Italy*. Their Nunneries seeme for the most part greatly reformed of that they have beene, and of that they still are in Fraunce and other places; where their loosenesse of government and often scandalls ensuing, doe breed them a reputation cleane contrarie to their profession. And the reason why the Monasteries and Convents of Friers are not reformed there also, is a feare, they say the Pope hath, that over great severity would cause a great number to disfrier themselves, and to fly to *Geneva* in hope of more libertie, which hee esteemeth an inconvenience more to bee shunned than the former mischiefe. Another thing very memorable and imitable in *Italy*, is the exceeding good provision of Hospitalls and houses of Pietie, for Old persons enfeebled, for poore folke maymed or diseased, for Gentilitie impoverished, for Travailers distressed, for lewd women converted, for Children abandoned; which the devotion of former times hath founded and enriched, and this present age doth very faithfully and discreetly governe. And if it were not for those
Houses,

Houses in the number whereof, goodlinesse, great renews, and good order, I suppose *Italy* exceeds any one Countrey in the world; although it bee incomparably also the richest Nation at this day of all the West, by reason of their long peace and their neighbours long warres; yet considering that the wealth there is so ill digested, and so unequally divided in the body thereof, (the infinite and ever sucking veines of their taxes and imposts carying all the blood to the higher parts, and leaving the lower ready to faint, to starve and wither,) that it may bee truly sayd, the rich men of *Italy* are the richest, and the poore the poorest things that any one Countrey can yeeld againe, both which in a well policed estate were to be avoided: were it not I say for those Houses alone of *Pietie*, there would bee more miserie to be seene in those parts, (which all that notwithstanding, is still great and excessive) than perhaps, in the poorest peaceable Countrey of Christendome whatsoever. Besides those Hospitalls, they have also other *Montipii*, for free or more easie loane to the poore; seeing *Italy* as all other places is infected with *Vsurie*.

But to come now to the view of their Ecclesiasticall Government; not so much as it is referred to the conduct of soules to their true happinesse, though this bee the naturall and proper end of that regiment; but rather as it is addressed to the upholding of the worldly power and glory of their order, to the advancing of their part, and overthrow of their opposites; which

which I suppose bee the points they now chiefly respect: I thinke I may truly say, there was never yet state framed by mans wit in this world more powerfull and forcible to worke those effects; never any either more wisely contrived and plotted, or more constantly and diligently put in practise and execution: in so much that but for the naturall weakenesse of untruth and dishonestie, which being rotten at the heart abate the force of whatsoever is founded thereon, their outward meanes were sufficient to subdue a whole world. Now as in every Art and Science there is some one or few first propositions or theoremes, on the vertue whereof all the rest depend: so in their Art also they have certaine **Head Assertions**, which as indemonstrable principles they urge all men to receive and hold. And those are, That they are the Church of God, within which great facilitie, and without which no possibilitie of Salvation: that divine prerogative graunted to them above all other Societies in the world, doth preserve them everlastingly from erring in matter of Faith, and from falling from God: that the Pope Christs **Deputie** hath the keyes of Heaven in his custodie to admit in by Indulgence, and shut out by Excommunication as hee shall see cause: that the charge of all Soules, being committed to him, hee is thereby made Sovereaigne Prince of this world exceeding in power and Maie. all other Princes as farre, as the soule in dignitie doth exceed the body, and aternall things surmount things temporall; and seeing
that

that the End is the rule and commandē of whatsoever doth tend unto it, and all things in this world are to serve but as instruments, and the world it selfe but as a passage to our everlasting habitation; that therefore he that hath the soveraigne menaging of this high end, and the honour to be the supreamē Conductor unto it, hath also power to dispose of all things subordinate, as may best serve to it, to plant, to roote out; to establish, to dispose; to binde, to loose; to alter to dispencc; as may serve most fit for the advancement of the Church, and for the atchieving of the Soules fælicity: wherein whosoever oppose against him, whether by Hæresie or schisme, they are no other than very Rebels or seditious persons; against whom he hath unlimited and endlesse power to proceed, to the suppressing, ruining and extinguishing of them by all meanes, that the common-wealth of God may flourish in prosperity, and the highway to Heaven be kept safe and open for all Gods loyall and obedient people. In these points no doubt or question is tollerable: and who so joyne with them in these, shall finde great connivence in what other defect and difference soever; this being the very touchstone at which all men are to be tryed, whether they bee in the Church, or out of the Church, whether with them or against them. And by this plot have their wits erected in the world a Monarchy more potent than ever any that hath beene before it: a Monarchy which entituling them *De jure* to all the world, layeth a strong foundation

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tion thereof in all mens consciences, the onely firme ground of obedience in the world ; and such a foundation as not onely holdeth fast unto them whatsoever it seazeth on, but workes outwardly also by engines to weaken and undermine the state of all other Princes how great soever ; and that in such sort, as by possessing themselves of the principall places in the hearts of their subjects, (as being those from whom they receive their principall good, even the happinesse of their soules) to incite them upon very conscience against their naturall soveraignes at pleasure, and by writ of excommunication to subdue or at the leastwise greatly to shake whom they list, without fighting a blow, without leavying a Souldier : and lastly a Monarchy which as it was founded by meere wit, so needeth not any thing but meere wit to maintaine it, which enricheth it selfe without toying, warreth without endangering, rewardeth without spending, using Colleges to as great purpose as any other can fortresses ; and working greater matters, partly by Schollars, partly by swarmes of Fryer, than any else could ever doe by great garrisons and Armies ; and all these maintained at other folkes charges ; for to that rare point have they also proceeded, as not onely to have huge rents themselves out of all forraigne states, but to maintaine also their instruments out of other mens devotion ; and to advance their favorites under the fairest pretence of providing for Religion, to the very principall praferments in forraigne Princes Dominions.

That

That no man thinke it strange, if finding the re-
 new of skill and cunning to bee so great,
 and her force so mighty, especially where she
 worketh upon simplicity and ignorance; they en-
 closed heretofore all learning within the walls
 of their Clergy: setting forth Lady Ignorance
 for a great Saint to the Laity, and shring
 her unto them for the true mother of **Devotion**.
 And assuredly but for one huge defect in their
 policy, which was hard in regard of their owne
 particular ambitions, but otherwise not impossi-
 ble to be avoyded; that they chuse their Popes
 lightly very old men, and withall indifferently
 without any restraint out of all families and
 nations, whereby they are continually subject
 to double change of government; the successour
 seldome prosecuting his antecessours devises, but
 either crossing them through envy, or abandoning
 them upon new humour; it could not have beene
 but they must have long since beene absolute
 Lords of all; which defect notwithstanding so
 strong was their policy by reason of the force of
 their cordiall foundation, that no Prince or Po-
 tentate ever opposed against them, but in fine even
 by his owne subjects they either mastered him ut-
 terly, or brought him to good conformity by
 great losse and extremity; till such time as in this
 latter age the untruth of the foundation it selfe
 being stoutly discovered, hath given them a sore
 blow; and changing in great part the state of the
 question hath driven them to a re-enforcement of
 new inventions and practises.

Howbeit those positions being the ground of their state, and the hope of their glory, in them they admit no shadow of alteration, but endeavour still *per fas & nefas*, even by all **Means** in the world to **strengthen them**, and among their manifold Adversaries hate them most of all other, who have laboured most in sapping of that foundation. And seeing that by reason of this bookish age, they have not that helpe of ignorance which in times past they had : they cast about gently to soake and settle them in mens perswasions and consciences another way. They tell men that the very grounds whereon we build our perswasion of the truth of Christianitie it selfe, are no other than credible ; that the prooffe of the Scripture to bee the Word of God, can be no other at this day than probable onely : it being impossible for any wit in the world to produce an exact necessarie and infallible demonstration, either that *St. Paul* had his calling from above, or that those Epistles were of his owne writing ; so likewise in the rest. And that the chiefe prooffe wee have thereof is the testimony of the Church : a thing which even their adversaries are forced to confesse. Now that this probable perswasion of the truth of Christianitie doth afterwards grow into an assurednesse thereof, this issueth from the inward operation of Gods Spirit ; the guift whereof is faith : and that faith being a knowledge not of **Science** but of **beliefe** ; which searcheth not by discourse the particular necessity of the veritie of the things which are delivered, but relyeth

relyeth in generall upon the approved wisedome, truth and vertue of him that doth deliver them: Surely whosoever will needs have necessarie prooffe of the severall articles of his Religion doth but wittily deceive himselfe; and by overcurious endeavours to change his Faith into science, but lose that which he seekes to perfect. If then without faith no possibilitie of salvation, surely needs must this bee the highway to perdition. Now seeing that Christianitie is a doctrine of faith, a doctrine whereof all men even children are capable, as being to bee received in grosse, and to be believed in the generall; the high vertue whereof is in the humilitie of understanding, and the merit in the readinesse of obedience to embrace it, (for these have beene alwayes the true honours of faith,) and seeing the outward proofes thereof are no other than probable, and of all probable proofes the Churches testimonie is most probable: What madnesse for any man to trie out his soule and to wast away his spirits in tracing out all the thorny parts of the Controversies of these dayes, wherein to erre is a thing no lesse easie than dangerous, what through forgerie abusing him, what through sophistrie beguiling him, what through passion, partialitie, and private interest transporting him; and not rather to betake himselfe to the high path of truth, whereunto God and Nature, reason and experience, doe all give witnesse, and that is, to associate himselfe unto that Church, whereunto the custodie of this Heavenly and Supernaturall truth, hath beege

from heaven it selfe committed; So that two things onely are to be performed in this case: to weigh discretely which is the true Church; and that being found, to receive faithfully and obediently without doubt or discussion whatsoever it delivereth.

Now concerning the first point, some doubt might be made if there were any Church Christian in the world to be shewne, which had continued from Christs time downe to this age without change or interruption, theirs onely excepted.

But if all other have had eyther their end and decay long since, or their beginning but of late; If theirs being founded by the Prince of the Apostles with promise to him by Christ, that Hell-gates should not prevaile against it, but that himselfe would bee assisting to it till the consummation of the world, have continued on now to the end of sixteene hundred yeares with an honourable and certaine line of neere two hundred and fourty Popes all successeurs of Saint *Peter*, both Tyrants and Traytors, both Pagans and Heretickes, in vaine wrestling, raging, barking, and undermining; if all the lawfull generall Councils that ever were in the world, being the venerable Senates of Gods Officers, and Ministers, have from time to time approoved, obeyed and honoured it, if God have so miraculously blessed it from above, as that so many sage Doctors should enrich it with their writings, such armies yea millions of Saints with their holinesse, or Martyrs
with

with their blood, of Virgins with their purity should sanctifie and embellish it; if their Church have beene a ruine alwayes to them that opposed against her; a stay, repose and advancement to all her followers; if even at this day in such difficulties of unjust rebellions and unnaturall revolts of her neereft children, yet she stretches out her armes to the utmost corners of the world, newly embracing whole Nations into her bosome; if lastly in all other opposite Churches wheresoever, there be nothing to be found but inward dissention and contrariety, but change of opinions, uncertenty of resolutions, with robbing of Churches, rebelling against Governors, confusion of orders, nothing to be attended but mischief, subversion and destruction (which they have well deserved and shall assuredly have :) whereas contrariwise in their Church the Vnity undivided, the obedience unforced, the unalterable resolutions, the most heavenly order reaching from the heighth of al power to the very lowest of all subjection, with admirable harmony and undefective correspondence, all bending the same way to the effecting of the same worke, doe promise no other than continuance, encrease, and victory: let no man doubt to submit himselfe to this glorious Spouse of God: on whose head is the blessing of God, in whose hand is the power of God, under whose feet are the enemies of God; and to whom round about doe service all the Creatures of God. This then being accorded to be the true Church of God, it followeth that shee be reverently obeyed
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in all things without farther disquisition: having the warrant that he that heareth her, heareth Christ, and whosoever heareth her not, hath no better place with God than a Publican or Pagan. And what folly were it to receive the Scripture upon credit of her authority, and not to receive the interpretation of it upon her authority also and credit? And if God should not protect his Church alwayes from errour, and yet peremptorily commaund men alwayes to obey her, then had hee made but very slender provision for the salvation of mankind, to whom errour in matter of faith is certaine damnation: which conceipt of God (whose care of us even in all things touching this transitory life is so plaine and eminent) were ungratefull and impious. And hard were the case, meane had his regard beene of the vulgar people, whose wants and difficulties in this life will not permit, whose capacity will not suffice to sound the deepe and hidden mysteries of divinity, to search out the truth of these intricate controversies, if there were not other whose authority they might relye on. Blessed therefore are they which beleeeve and have not seene: the merit of whose religious humility and obedience, doth exceed perhaps in honour and acceptance before God, the subtile and profound knowledge of many other. And lastly, if any man either in regard of his vocation, or by reason of his leasure list to study the controversies, take he heed that hee come not with a doubtfull minde unto them; for diffidence is as the sinne of Rebellion:

bellion : let him be stedfast in faith ; let him submit his owne reason to the Churches authority, being the house of God, the pillar and ground of truth, let him be fast and unmooveably built on that foundation ; and let his end be onely this, to furnish and arme himselfe in such sort as to be able to withstand and overthrow those Hæretickes, whom he shall at any time either chuse or chaunce to encounter. This is the maine course of their perswading at this day, whereby they seek to reestablisth that former foundation.

In the unfolding whereof I have beene the longer, because triall hath taught mee, that not by some mens private election, but as it should seeme, by common order, direction or consent, they have relinquished all other courses, and hold them to this as the most effectuall meanes in the way of perswasion to insinuate their desire, and to worke their desein. In considering whereof there cometh into my minde that diversity which a wise Philosopher hath intimated in the wits of men, that some are of so sharpe, deepe, and strong discourse, that they yeeld not their firme assent to any thing till they have found out either some proper demonstration for it, or some other certaine prooffe whereon to ground it assuredly: other are by nature so shallow and weake in that faculty, that they feare alwaies errour in working with it, and therefore doe more willingly accord to whatsoever some of account for wisdom doe barely affirme, than to any thing that reason alone (which they suspect) enforceth.

Now these later exceeding the other as farre in number, as in worthinesse and honour of nature they are exceeded by them: The Romanists taking a course so fitting to the feeble and fearefull humour of this sort, do greatly sway with them: whereas if they meet with one of the former more tough constitution, that will not be caried away with these plausible declamations, nor yeeld his assent in grosse, without particular examination, they bestow small cost on him, as having small hope to prevaile. Wherein I hold them wise in the rules of policy: that having found by certaine and infallible experience, that the ignorance of the Laity was the chiefeft and surest sinew of their greatnesse and glory, they now being not able to keepe them longer in that blinde ignorance, doe cunningly endeavour to to leade them out of the former, as to enter them withall into a second kinde of ignorance; that being not content to see utterly nothing, at leastwise they may be perswaded to resigne up their owne eyesight and to looke through such spectacles as they temper for them.

This being the maine ground-worke of their policy; and the generall meanes to blinde and establish it in the mindes of all men; the particular **ways** they hold to **Ravish** all affections and to fit each humoꝝ, (which their jurisdiction and power being but perswasive and voluntary, they principally regard,) are well-nigh infinite: there being not any thing either sacred or prophane, no vertue nor vice almost, no things of how.

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contrary condition soever; which they make not in some sort to serve that turne; that each fancy may be satisfied, and each appetite finde what to feede on. Whatsoever either wealth can sway with the lovers, or voluntary poverty with the despisers of the World; what honour with the ambitious; what obedience with the humble; what great imployment with stirring and mettald Spirits, what perpetuall quiet with heavy and restive bodies; what content the pleasant nature can take in pastimes and jollity, what contrariwise the austere minde in discipline and rigour; what love either chastity can raise in the pure, or voluptuousnesse in the dissolute; what allurements are in knowledge to draw the contemplative, or in actions of State to profess the practicke dispositions; what with the hopefull prerogative of reward can worke; what errors, doubts, and daungers with the fearefull; what change of vowes with the rash, of estate with the inconstant; what pardons with the faulty, or supplies with the defective; what miracles with the credulous, what visions with the fantastick; what gorgeoussnesse of shews with the vulgar and simple, what multitude of Ceremonies with the superstitious and ignorant; what prayer with the devout, what with the charitable workes of piety; what rules of higher perfection with elevated affections, what dispensing with breach of all rules with men of lawlesse conditions; in summe what thing soever can prevaile with any man, either for himselfe to pursue, or at least wise to love, reve-

rence or honour in another; For even therein
 also mans nature receiveth great satisfaction;) the
 same is found with them, not as in other places
 of the World, by casualty blended without order,
 and of necessity; but sorted in great part into se-
 verall professions, countenanced with reputation,
 honoured with prerogatives, facilitated with pro-
 visions and yearly maintenance, and either (as
 the better things) advanced with expectation of
 reward, or borne with how bad soever with sweet
 and silent permission. What pompe, what ryor,
 to that of their Cardinals? what severity of life
 comparable to their Heremits and Capuchins?
 who wealthier than their Prælates? who poorer
 by vow and profession than their Mendicants?
 On the one side of the streete a Cloister of Virgins:
 on the other a sty of Courtizans, with publicke
 toleration. This day all in Maskes with all loose-
 nesse and foolery: to morrow all in Processions
 whipping themselves till the blood follow. On
 one doore an Excommunication throwing to
 Hell all transgressours: on another a Iubilee or
 full discharge from all transgressions: Who lear-
 neder in all kinde of Sciences than their Iesuites?
 What thing more ignorant than their ordinary
 Masse Priests? What Prince so able to preferre
 his servants and followers, as the Pope, and in so
 great multitude? Who able to take deeper or
 readier revenge on his enemies? What pride e-
 qual unto his, making Kings kisse his pantafle? what
 humility greater than his, Shriving himselfe day-
 ly on his knees to an ordinary Priest? who dif-
 ficulter

ficulter in dispatch of causes to the Greatest? who easier in giving audience to the meanest? where greater rigour in the world in acting the observation of the Church Lawes? Where lesse care or conscience of the Commandements of God? To taste flesh on a friday where suspicion might fasten, were a matter for the Inquisition? whereas on the other side the Sunday is one of their greatest marketdayes? To conclude, never State, never Government in the world, so strangely compacted of infinite contrarieties, all tending to entertaine the severall humours of all men, and to worke what kind of effects soever they shall desire: where rigour and remissenesse, cruelty and lenity are so combined, that with neglect of the Church to stirre ought, is a sinne unpardonable; whereas with duty towards the Church, and by intercession for her allowance, with respective attendance of her pleasure, no Law almost of God or Nature so sacred, which one way or other they find not meanes to dispence with, or at least-wise permit the breach of, by connivence and without disturbance.

Rut to proceed to the consideration of their more particular Projects and more mysticall devises for the perpetuating of their greatnesse. There was never yet State so well built in the world; having his ground as theirs hath in the good will of others, and not standing by his owne maine strength and power, that could longer uphold it selfe in flourishing reputation and in prosperity, than it could make it selfe necessa-

ry to them by whom it subsisted; all callings of men, all degrees in common-wealths, yea particular great personages, then waning in their greatnesse, when they decay in their necessaries to them from whom they have it. Which the Papacy nothing ignorant off, nor neglecting, hath by secret and rare cunning so deeply engaged and interessed from time to time the greatest **Monarchs** of Christendome, in the upholding of that state, that without the Papacy sundry of them have no hope, and some no title to continue in their owne dominions. For to omit things more apparant and in the Eyes of all men, their pretended authority to excommunicate and depose them, to discharge subjects of all oath and bond of obedience, to oblige them under paine of damnation to rise against them, to honour their murtherers, with the title of Martyrs, (for to that degree of eternity have some of their sect growne;) the effect of which proceeding, some great Princes have felt and more have feared, and few at this day list to put it to the adventure: the tempering with so unlimited power in **Princes Marriages**, by dispensing with degrees by the Law of God and the World forbidden, by loosing and knitting marriages, by devise at pleasure, by legitimating unlawfull and accursed issue, and thereby advancing into thrones of Regality, oftentimes, base, sundry times adulterous, yea and sometimes incestuous and perhaps unnaturall offspring; doth not reason fore-tell, and hath not experience adverred, that both the partners in such

such marriages, and much more their whole issue are bound in as strong a bond to the upholding of the Popes infinite authority and power, as the honour of their birth, and title of their Crownes are worth? It was a seely conceipt in them who hoped that Queene *Mary* would not restore the Popes authority in England by reason of her promise, when a greater bond to her than her promise did presse her to it. What man ever in the world stucke faster to his chosen friend than the late King *Philip* of *Spaine* to the **Papacie**, (notwithstanding with the Popes themselves his often jealousies and quarrels:) having ordained moreover that all his Heires and Successours in the State of the Low-Countries by vertue of his late transport shall forever in their entry into those **Signories** take an oath for the maintaining of the Papacy and that Religion? Is not the reason apparent that if the Papacy should quaille, his onely son with whosoever descend of him are dishonoured and made incapable as in way and right of descent of those great States and Kingdomes which now hee holdeth; yea a fire kindled in his owne house about the title to them? Neither is it to be admitted into any conceipt of reason but that this young King will be as sure to the Papacy as his Father, being borne of a Marriage prohibited by God, abhorred haply by Nature, disapproved by the World; and onely by Papall authority made allowable.

For, for my part, I hold that opinion not unprobable,

probable, that the marriage of Vncle and Niece (as it was in this case) is contrary to the Law of Nature, and not Gods positive Law onely: seeing the Vncle hath a second right and place of a Father. But howsoever that point stand, wherein I dare not affirme ought, it is cleerely contrary to such a positive Law of God, as the reason and cause whereof must needs continue till the dissolution of the world or overthrow of mankind; and therefore in reason and Law no way abrogable or dispensable with, but by the same or an higher authority than that which first did make it: that the Pope neede not thinke they doe him apparent wrong, who invest him with the Title of that man of power, who sitting in the Temple of God, exalteth himselfe above God. For what may it seeme else, bearing himselfe for Head of the Church, to take upon him to cancell or authentically to allow of the breach of Gods Law, without having his expresse and præcise warrant for so doing? Though I am not ignorant, that they have distinctions for all this: which were a merry matter if Sophistry were the proper science for Salvation. But by this and some other marriages these stranger relations of alliance have growne, that King *Philip the second*, were hee now alive, might call the *Arch-duke Albert* both brother, cousin, nephew, and sonne; for all this was hee to him either by blood or affinity; being Vncle to himselfe, cousin-germaine to his Father, Husband to his Sister, and Father to his Wife. And to come a step neerer home,

the

the same rule of policie made mee strongly conjecture till that now God by death hath prevented that mischief; howsoever the Pope hitherto what for feare of scandalizing, what for other respects, made shew not to bee forward to consent to an entended mariage betweene a married King and his Mistresse, much lesse to legitimate the children adulterously begotten, by finding nullities on both sides in the former marriages, (things made on purpose, as he knoweth, to cloke a falshood;) that yet notwithstanding himselfe or his successours would yeeld to it in the end, if any colour in the world could bee layd upon the matter to salve the credite of his not erring sea, and he might see good hope for that race to prevaile: yea and it may yet bee that in some other match he will guide that streame into the same course: that so deriving the succession also of this other great kingdome, upon issue, whose title must hold of his legitimation, hee may bee better assured of it than hee hath beene hitherto; and have them for ever most firme and irreconcilable adversaries, to all such whether subjects or neighbours or whosoever, as should oppose against his Sovereigntie and unstinted power; so searching and penetrant is the cunning of that Sea; to strengthen it selfe more by the unlawfull marriages of other men, than ever Prince yet could doe by any Lawfull marriage of his owne.

The **Dispensing with oaths** and discharging from them, especially in matters of Treatie betweene Princes and States; is a thing so repugnant

nant to all morall honestie, so injurious to the quiet and peace of the world, so odious in it selfe, so scandalous to all men, that it may bee they adventure not to play upon that string in this curious age so often as heretofore, for feare of discording all the rest of their harmonie.

Clearer it is that heretofore this made them a necessary helpe for all such Princes, as eyther upon extremitie were driven to enter into hard conditions, or upon falshood and dishonestie desired to take their advantage against their neighbours when it was offered. Which Princes having no meanes to salve their Credit with the World, but onely by justifying the unholinesse of their act, by the Popes holy authoritie interposed in it; were afterwards tyed firmly to adhere unto him. And this was the case of FRANCIS *the first*: with whom immediatly upon his oath given to CHARLES *the first*, for performance of the Articles accorded at his delivery, CLEMENT *the seventh* dispensed; and by probable conjecture had promised him to dispence with his Oath before-hand, upon hope also whereof hee tooke it: The effect was for the Popes behoofe, that ever after there was strict love and intelligence between them; testified finally to the World by that famous marriage between the Son of the one and the kinswoman of the other. And verily though I hold in generall too much suspiciousnesse, as great a fault and as great an enemy to wisdom, as too much credulitie; it doing oftentimes as hurtfull wrong to friends, as the other

doth

doth receive wrongfull hurt from dissemblers : yet viewing the short continuance of sworne Leagues at this day, the small reckoning that Princes make of Oathes solemnly taken whether to neighbours or subjects, not faith but profit being the bond of alliance and amitie, which altering once, the other have no longer during, it maketh mee thinke not impossible that the Popes unlimited fingers may bee stirring even at this day more often in secret, in uniting those knots of the bonds of conscience, than the world is ware of, at leastwise that by authoritie and imitation of his example Princes assume unto themselves a like facultie of dispensing with their owne Oathes, whensoever they can perswade themselves it is behooffull unto their kingdomes, as he when to his Church. Bow howsoever that stands, this is very apparent, that by this doctrine and policie, the Popes opposites and enemies, especially the **States** and **Princes** of the **Reformed Religion**, are inestimably præjudiced; being reduced hereby to a continuall incertaintie and confusion in all their weightiest actions, counsell and resolutions, there being a warrant dormant for all men to breake league and oath with them, and no neede of particular dispensation from his Holinesse; their Church long since by her rules, and some of great reckoning among them more lately by their writings, having published and preached to all the world, that Faith givento Hereticks is not to bee

kept; that leagues with them are more honorable in their breaking than in their making; denying that right unto Princes of Christian profession, which Christians unto Heathen, the Heathen one to another of how different Religion soever, yea all honourable Princes unto very Traytours and Rebels have alwayes kept inviolable. And surely if Father PARSONS at his late comming to Rome pretending to make peace betweene the English Schollars and the Iesuits, (who were charged with much indirect dealing and large imbeazeling) and setting downe certaine articles betweene them to that purpose, whereby each part should be bound to desist impugning of the other, did by handling the matter as is sayd with such sleight and conveiance, (imitating therein a rule of fast on the one side and loose on the other in the ground of their order) as first to sweare the Schollars to observe that which was their part, and afterwards to leave the Iesuits unsworne to theirs; effect his secret and ambitious intent, and to the great greefe of the Schollars make the Iesuits their Governours: what other account can bee made of these peaces and leagues betweene those of the **Romane** and of the **Reformed Religion**, but that the one side being tied by oath, and the other left free: (for so are they taught;) they shall so farre forth onely have performance and continuance, as shall prove to the advantage in ease or profit of that partie which esteemeth it selfe left at libertie.

The sacred, the soveraigne instrument of justice among men, what is it, what can it bee in this world
but

but an oath, being the strongest bond of Conscience: this the end of strifes particular, this the soder of publike peace, and the sole assurance of amitie betweene divers Nations: which being made here below, is enrolled in his high Court whose glorious name doth signe it; who hath made no graunt of accessse to his Cœlestiall palace, but to such as having sworne once, though it redound to their owne damage, yet swarve not from it; that nothing but mischief can bee præfaged to the world in this age most wretched, wherein perjurie hath so undermined the very tribunals of judgement, that it hath chased true justice out of the world, and left no place for a just man where to stand against the craftie. But what may bee sayd when he that sitteth in the Temple of God, shall so farre advance himselfe above God, as to dispense with oaths made sacred by the most holy and high name of God? when hee that professeth himselfe the sole Vmpire and Peace-maker of the World, should cut in sunder those onely sinewes that hold peace together: when the Father of Princes and Prince of Religion shall carry himselfe with so wicked partialitie and craft, as in dissolving oaths by afflicting therein the part hee hateth, and making the other perpetually obnoxious to him, to worke his owne certaine advantage from both: and lastly by making that auncient bridle of the unjust, to be now an onely snare to entrap the innocent, shall impose that blemish upon the name of Christianitie, which Pagans in their naturall moralitie have abhorred.

I will not here omit one other great helpe, which casualtie rather than cunning may seeme to have wrought: it falling out often in the affaires of men, that where wisdome hath furnished out sundry aids and instruments, there some also doe frame themselves as it were by chance, springing out of the concurrence of divers accidents with the former. As at this day the **Greatnesse of the House of Austria**, extending it selfe well neere to all Quarters of Europe, and confining with many of the Popes principall adversaries: who having long since upon the rich purchase which they had of the West Indies, devoured in assured hope and conceipt the **Monarchy of our Western-world**. And finding no fitter and more plausible meanes to enlarge their temporall Dominion than by concurring with the Pope in restoring his spirituall; have linked themselves most fast with his sea, and investing themselves voluntarily with an office of their owne erection have taken upon them to bee the Executioners of the Papall Excommunications; that having title from the Pope who giving his Enemies states *Occupanti*, and distracting their subjects from them upon feare of his curse, the rest they may supply out of their owne force and opportunities. And for this purpose hath beene erected and by them highly cherished that super-politicke and irrefragable order as they compt it, of the **Jesuites**, who couple in their perswasions, as one God and one Faith, so one Pope and one King; bearing the world in hand that there is no other meanes for the Church to stand

stand but by resting upon this pillar; and by uniting in this sort all the forces of the Christians this the onely meanes to vanquish that **Atch-enemie of Chzistianitie**: That the Italians may not brag to have beene the onely men who have subdued the world unto them by their wit, the Spaniards having proved so good schollars in their schooles, that though they follow them in their grounds of pretending their advancement of Religion, and in their Instruments of religious orders to practise mens mindes with; yet in this they out-goe them; that they use the Popes weapons, lightnings, thunders, and terrours for instruments of their owne greatnesse; and his hope of re-establisshing his spirituall reputation by them to the immoderate increase of their secular power by him; that the Pope also himselfe must in the end bee constrained to cast himselfe into their armes, and to remaine at their devotion, acknowledging him thenceforth for his good Lord and patron, whom heretofore hee hath governed and commanded as his soveraigne. A point which as some of the ministers of Spaine in the huffe of their pride have not beene able to hold in, but have braved the assembly of Cardinals to their beards, that they hoped ere long to see the day, that their M^{ty} should tender halfe a dozen to the Pope to bee made Cardinals at once, whereof hee should not dare to refuse any one; and that the Cardinalls themselves should as little dare to choose any other Pope than whom hee named: so their importunate pressing of the Popes in these latter times

to

to serve all their ambitious and raging turnes, and the long præjudicing of the libertie of the Conclave in their elections, hath given them good assurance that they speake as they meane, that their braggs are hopes, and these threats are purposes. But howsoever the great jealousie and feare whereof, as being not now to learne the Spanish hautinesse and insolence, (who in the pride of their Monarchie are growne also to sweare by the life of their King,) have extremely perplexed some of the latter Popes; and driven them to very extraordinary and desperate resolutions; which they have payd for dearly; and in generall have made it enacted for a rule in that sea, not so much to seeke the repairing of their forrein spirituall authorities (if it cannot be done but by meanes of so huge inconvenience,) as to strengthen and make themselves great in their temporall estate at home: Yet now seeing France beyond all hope of man reunited in it selfe, and likely to flourish as in its former prosperitie, whereby they shall be able so to balance these Monarchs as to make that part the heavier, to which they shall propend (an auncient rule and continuall practise of that sea) I should not greatly doubt, but that they will bee content againe, henceforward so long as matters stand in termes they doe, to entertaine that good correspondence with the **H**ouse of Austria, as to serve them with their Excommunications, that they may bee served by them with their Executions. The sweetnesse whereof as the Spaniard hath long since tasted in effect, having seized on Navarre

varre by that onely pretence; and of latter times in high conceipt and hope; trusting to have embraced both France and England by the same meanes: so doubt I not but that other branch of the **House of Austria** in Germanie, which hath engrossed and in a manner entailed to their house so many elective States, the Empire, the Kingdomes of Bohemia with his dependances, and of Hungarie, and are likely also to draw in the Princedome of Transilvania; whensoever they should attaine quiet and security from the Turke, (which hath no great unlikelihoode to bee compassed in short time) would take the same course against the Protestants of Germanie; having so many praelates and other there to assist them, (who by rooting out the Protestants out of all their States have prepared a good ground for such a future exploit): Howsoever the Pope himselfe doe yet forbear his thunders, having learned by his losse elsewhere, that it argueth in these actions more courage than wit, to make a noise ere the blow be ready. Now as these are the hopes of the **House of Austria**, for the enlarging of their estate and molesting of their neighbours: so for the entertaining of perpetuall unitie and love amongst themselves, they use the graund preservative and helpe of marriage, the onely sure bond of amitie in the world: in so much that by continuall intermarrying among themselves, they remaine still as brethren all of one family, and as armes of the selfe-same body. These take it to bee the meanes, whereby the Papacie hath assured so

many of the greatest unto it.

To descend from which to those that are next them in degree, the Nobilitie and other persons of worth and qualitie; the Papacie is not disprovided of his instruments to worke upon these also; it hath his baits to allure them, his hookes to retaine them. I will not stand much upon the benefit which their Confession doth herein yeeld them, whereby prying into the hearts and consciences of all men, they attaine knowledge of the secrets, they found the dispositions, they discover the humours of all the most respective and able persons, of what Country, or calling, place or qualitie soever. A matter of singular consideration in the managing of affaires of principall importance for the well-guiding of Councells: the ignorance thereof being cause of error in the wisest deliberations, and of uncertaine successe in the most grounded resolutions. To omit the great wealth which they heape thereby, perswading their penitents especially in that onely houre of agony and extremie, to ransom their sinnes committed against God by consecrating their goods unto the Church of God: whereby they have prevailed in all places so farre, the Iesuits above all other, who are noted and envied by other orders of Friers for ingrossing the commoditie of being rich mens confessours, where good is to be done; with whom their pranks in that kind have beene so rare and memorable, that most States at this day have beene forced by publike order to limit the proportion of that kind

kind of purchase. For in that case they can easily extenuate those other helpes of **Indulgences** and of **Requiem**s at their priviledged Altars, and yet without touch of the Popes omnipotencie.

They compt them but simple folke that cannot use their severall devises without crossing one the other how contrarie soever. They can tell them that it may be for want of contrition in themselves, those soveraigne pardons wanted a fit subject to worke on : and so for the other after-helpe ; the want of intencion in the Priest, may frustrate the Masse of that prerogative of vertue ; whereby their soules may perhaps fry in Purgatory : when their friends shall imagine they shine in glorie. That the onely sure way of having good, is by doing good : and what good to bee done at death, but the bestowing well of his goods : and where better bestowing them, than upon him that gave them ; and to God they are given, when they are given to his Ministers.

Neither yet will I other than mention onely the helpe which the choise of their **Cardinals** doth yeeld herein : whom choosing in great part out of the most noble and potent families, that either voluntarily desire it, or can bee induced to accept it ; they both give good satisfaction to all forrein Nations, but especially hold Italy to them in deepe devotion ; and strengthen themselves with the favour and support of those mens kinreds, whom they have placed in the next step to the top of their glory : Yea and oftentimes by meanes of these Cardinalls their assured instruments, they

insinuate themselves into the swaying of the government of those States wherein either by their Nobilitie or other worth they beare authoritie. A policie of long usage and observed by many. The same also though not in the same high degree, they have wrought and doe still worke in those Realms which acknowledge their **Romane Supremacie**, by the ordinarie Bishops and other Prælates advanced in them. Who on the one side having sworne obedience to the Pope; on the other side having voyce in the high Courts of Parliament (as representing the first of the three estates of the Kingdoms,) and otherwise also employed in weightiest affaires; have carryed themselves with that doublenesse in their two-fold durie, as that still the Popes greatnesse hath beene upheld to their utmost power.

For which cause some States, as the Venetians by name, to countermine that forreine policie with an inward provision, whensoever any of their Gentlemen set foot into that course, they dismisse them thence-forward even from those graund Councells, whereinto their very birth-right and Familie did give them entrance.

But Jewells are rare, and for few mens wearing. Such are the honours of Cardinals, being made Kings Companions. The multitude and diversitie of men of spirit and qualitie requireth store also and **Variety** of competent **Preferments** to enterteine them with in good content and correspondence: a thing in all States of very necessarie and chiefe regard. Wherein although the Pa-

Papacie may seeme at the first blush to have no furniture extraordinary above other Princes, save onely in one kind, for men of Ecclesiasticall calling; (by which hee is able to advance men of learning incomparably above any other Prince in the world, as having well-nigh all the Bishopricks and Abbeyes in Italy with other Church livings, almost halfe the benefices in Spaine, very many Ecclesiasticall præferments of all sorts in other Countries at his bestowing:) yet if we looke into the use and practise of these times, it will well appeare that even by Ecclesiasticall Livings he partly accommodateth and partly suffers (as by his Grace) to be accommodated, all professions and ages, though neither fit nor very capable of Ecclesiasticall order; what by dispensations or tolerations to be administrators of Abbeyes, Bishopricks and other benefices, as is used in France; what as in Italy and Spaine, by assignations of yearely pensions out of their revenues: which being so great as there they are, they may easily; and having hope of expiring, they may contentedly beare. And most of this out of the dominions and territories of other Princes, and without any charging or impoverishing of his owne: A choise and refined piece of high quintessence of wit, which never yet any State could so distill their braines as to aspire to besides the Papacie. To let passe the infinit number of honours and livings, what Ecclesiasticall, what subordinate and ministeriall to them; and what also in part temporall, as belonging to the Knights of the holy orders, which are

many: all which although not directly in his owne donation, yet in that they have their right either grounded upon, or greatly favoured and continued by his Religion, and in the decay of that (as experience hath shewed) were likely also to quaille; are strong props to the upholding of the glory of the Papacie: arming so many tongues and hands in the defence thereof, as either are or have hope to be advanced by it, and each drawing his kindred, friends, and followers with him. A sweet enchanter and deceiver of men is the hope of honour and worldly profit, which lulling oft, even in the better sort, the Conscience asleepe, doth awaken withall and sharpen the wit, to find out arguments for the proving of that conclusion which affection beforehand hath framed; and by custome and continuance engendreth in them a perswasion that they have done well in that, which at the first their owne knowledge could say was otherwise. How powerfully then may it sway with that other sort of men, whose belly being their God, maketh their appetite their sole Religion: which if the experience of former times have not sufficiently affirmed; it were to be wished perhaps, that more fresh prooffe might have beene given thereof once againe in this Kingdome of France: where some of the wisest and chiefe have thought, that if the King should accord to the Clergies late supplication, to bestow Church livings upon fit men and onely of Ecclesiasticall calling; those Princes and Peers which now in regard of that particular commoditie which they

reap

reap from the Church in tearmes it standeth, have unsheathed their swords in defence thereof, would soone turne them another way, to the utter razing of it; that they might satisfie their greedines with the spoile of that State, whose pay they could no longer have.

But for the **Clergie** themselves, who are in all places under the Papacie great in number and power, they are most firmly assured to that Sea; what by the multitude of exemptions and **Privileges** above the Temporaltie, which under the Popes protection they securely enjoy; what with expecting of no other than utter saccage and ruine, if the opposites of the Pope should happen to prevaile: so undiscreeit and violent hath beene their cariage in most places, where they have beene able either to bring or pull in also their Reformation. Yea herein also it hath befallen, as in some other things, that not only casuall, but even meere crosse accidents have redounded to the Popes great advantage and benefit: this great part which in this age hath beene raised against him, having wrought this effect, to make the rest more firme, more serviceable, and more zealous towards him. In so much that whereas in France in former times he was smally regarded of any, but stomacked at by the Princes, impeached, abridged, and appealed from by the Prælates and lastly either despised or neglected by the people: the hatred and rancour conceived against his adversaries, (which being first kindled by eagernes of opposition, is now by long continuance therein most strongly settled, have produced effects of cleane contrary nature:

ture : the Princes and Cities have joyned in holy league for the upholding of him ; the people with all furie have raged, have fought against, have murdered and massacred his opposites in all places ; and the Clergie of France which heretofore hath withstood him in many better Councils doth now call mainly for his late **Councell of Trent**, rejected over all the world saving Spaine and Italy, to be admitted and established over all that Kingdome. A Councell of all other most servile and partiall to him, and carried by him with such infinit guile and craft, without any sincerity, upright dealing or truth, as that themselves will even smile in the triumph of their owne witts, when they heare it but mentioned, as at a Master stratagem. Yea so strongly hath this opposition fastned his Clergie to him, that the name of a generall Councell is now the most plausible, which in former times was the most fearefull thing to him in the world ; and whereunto hee was never brought with any better good-will than an old bitten Beare is drawne to the stake to bee bayted by his enemies, who dare tug him in Companie, at whom in single they scarce durst barke: so powerfull is the nature of all opposition to encrease despite and hatred against the enemy ; and to make friends especially those that are interessed in the same cause, to cleave more close together. Yea rather so wise is the ever admirable Creator even in all his works of what nature soever, as to temper the very accidents of the life of man with such proportion and counterpoise, that no prosperitie without his inconvenience, no adversitie without his comfort, to chase
out

out of mans life Securitie and Déspaire, the onely enemies of all vertuous and honourable courfes.

To each thing hath the goodnesse of that wise Architect imparted a peculiar badge of honour that nothing should bee de'picable in the Eyes of other. The Princes in Majestie and soveraigntie of power; the Nobilitie in wisedome and dominative vertue together with the instruments thereof, as Riches, Reputation, Allies and followers, and the people in their multitude are respectable and honourable. Which **Multitude** being of so great consequence in matter of State; the policie of the Papacie hath in no wise neglected; but provided both reasonable entertainment for them, and fit means also to practise and worke upon them. Here come in those heapes of their **Religious Orders**, that multitude of Friers, which abound in all places, but wherewith Italy above all doth swarme. A race of people in former times Honorable in their holinesse; now for the most part contemptible in their wickednesse and miserie: alwayes praying, but with seldome signe of dévotion; vowing obedience, and still contentions; chastitie, but yet most luxurious; povertie, yet every where scraping and covetous: Which I speake not of them all, there being many among them of singular pietie and devotion in their way: but of the farre greater part as they are generally reputed where-ever I have bin. But to returne to the ayd which the Papacie doth reap from them. The onely contentfull care that the ordinary sort of men entertaine in this World, is in **providing** for their **Children**, to leave them

in good estate, and not inferiour but rather above their auncestours : which those that have many, being not able to performe for all; it is a great ease to them, (and such an ease as even Princes and great Peeres themselves sometimes disdain not, but are rather glad of,) to discharge their hands of some of them, especially of such as by disgrace or defect of nature are eyther more backward, or lesse lovely than other, at an easie and small rate, and yet with honourable pretence, namely by consecrating them wholly to the service of the Creatour, and providing an higher place for them in his coelestiall Kingdome. For such is their opinion of these orders of religious and Angelicall perfection, as they usually style them; the Friers also themselves having names given them by their Governours, each according to his merits importing no lesse; and as they increase in their holinesse, so proceeding in their titles, from **Padre Benedetto** to **Padre Angelo**, then **Archangelo**, **Cerubino**, and lastly **Seraphino**, which is the top of perfection. But for their owne high conceipt of their perfection and merits, this example may serve. I have heard one of their most revered Capuchins for zeale, sanctitie and learning, preaching in principall place before the Bishop, in sharpe reproofe of the forsaken crew of blasphemous Gamesters, pray solemnly to God (though acknowledging himselfe first in humilitie a great sinner,) by his merits and discipline, by the teares which his Eyes had often shed, by the chastisement which with his cord hee had often given himselfe, by those many
sharp

sharpe voyages, which for the love of God he had made, because they did grieve *Animam pauperis*, which was himselfe, that if there were any which should still notwithstanding his admonitions persist in that wicked gamestrie, he would strikethem ere that day twelve-moneth with some markable punishment: The same man another time in an extasie of Charitie, (calling God, all his Angels and Saints to witnesse it,) to strip himselfe of all his merits (though few he acknowledged) before the little Crucifix there, embracing and kissing it; and to pray it to reward them upon his dearely beloved Auditorie; for whose sakes he was content also to be reputed the greatest sinner of all the assemblie.

Such being their perfection then, the desiring it must needs issue from an honourable affection. Now although the Italian, being a thrifitie menager, doe in his heart greatly repine at a Custome of their Nunneries have of late brought up (being indeed constrained to it by the excessive multitude which in the former respect are thrust upon them;) which is, not to receive any Gentleman or Merchants daughter without a dowrie of two hundred Crownes, and fisteene or twenty Crownes yearely pension during her life, and tenne Crownes yeerely rent to their house for ever; neither admit they of any mean mans daughter without some Crownes also in name of a dowrie at their Spirituall marriage to God, and those shall be but serving-Nunnes to the former: yet finding of two charges this farre the easier, they are content to

swallow downe that, which by champing on they cannot remedy. But the orders of religious men bring them another case also. It disburdeneth their country of an infinite number of discontented humours and despayring passions: Whosoever in his dearest loves hath proved unfortunate; whosoever cannot prosper in some other profession which he hath beene set to; whomsoever any notable disgrace or other crosse in his estate hath bereaved of all hope of ever rising in this world; whosoever by his miscariage hath purchased so many enemies, as that nothing but his blood can give satisfaction to their malice: all these and many other reduced to like anguish of minde and distresse, or otherwise howsoever out of taste with the world, have this haven of content alwaies open and at hand to flee to; when they can finde no other place of repose to stand on, then resolve they to goe ~~frriers~~ **frriers** as they phrase it. Yea whosoever by his monstrous Blasphemy or other like villany hath deserved all the tortures and deaths in the world; if before the hand of Iustice lay hold upon him, hee voluntarily professe himselfe a Capuchine or Hermite, or of such like strict Order: the Pope doth forbid any further pursuit, as thinking his voluntary perpetuall penance sufficient: and of this sort is the greatest part of their Gentlemen Capuchins: for so are the most of their order by birth. Neither is this religious life (save in some very few orders) so severed from the world and the commodities thereof, but that it enjoyeth as many contents as a moderate minde need wish; and immoderate affections can find

finde meanes also to satisfie themselves at pleasure : in summe, they are rather discharged of the toyles and cares, than debarred of the comforts and solaces of this life. Neither is there almost so meane a Frier among them, that hath not some hope to bee Prior of his Convent ; and then perhaps Provinciall of that resort or Province ; and lastly, not impossible that his good fortune may so accompanie, or his merits so commend him, as to attaine to bee Generall of all his order. The generalls are as fit to bee made Cardinals as any men : and finally sundry of them within the memorie of man, have beene advanced from the eminence of Cardinall dignitie, to the soveraigntie of Papall glorie.

Hope is a sweet and firme companion of man, it is the last thing that leaveth him, and the highest things it promiseth him ; it make all toyles supportable, all difficulties conquerable. Now the multitude of these Orders, and good provision for them, being so great an ease to all sorts of men in their private estates, as they generally accompt it : it must needs bee a great bond of their affection to the Papacie, under which they enjoy it, as by whom alone those orders are protected, and whom his Adversaries doe seek utterly to exterminate & ruine. That I speake little of the particular persons who enter thoe orders, who draw thereby their whole race the more to favour that way, which in so infinite a number of them must needs bee of great moment. And although against this might bee objected with great reason, the inestimable damage wch the publike doth thereby receive ; as in Italy for ex-

ample, perhaps halfe the Land in many places thereof, and generally a full third, besides their other avails, being appropriated to this sort of people and other persons Ecclesiasticall; yea and of the people themselves, perhaps a quarter of a Million at least in that one Nation, having withdrawne hereby from all service of Prince or people, Common-wealth or Country, and confined themselves to the Cloyster-life in Beads and Oraisons, living wholly upon the Hony which the toyling Bee doth gather; which perhaps with another quarter million of another sect, (I may erre in both numbers, but I aime as neere the truth as by conjecture I can, proportioning the places where I have not bene with those where I have) who have abandoned themselves to another trade, as idle but more wicked, devouring with mens goods their bodies and soules at once; may be the cause that, that Country though as populous as it can well bear, yet comes manifold parts short of that strength which in former times it hath had, either for defence of it selfe, or offence of his neighbours, yet notwithstanding these are theorems which few list to speculate; the whole World running mainly to things sensible and perfect, and to that which profits them in their owne particular, though it bring with it a certaine hurt and finall ruine of the publike; without the safetie whereof to them that judg things rightly, neither any particular estate can prosper.

But the benefit which the Papacie doth draw from these Friers, consisteth least in this point in
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the accommodating and yeelding content to other : it stands in the **Multitude of hearts,** and **Hands,** of **Tongues and Pennes,** dispersing in all Countries but united in his service, of men of most fierie and furious zeale, who with uncessant industrie and resolutenesse incredible, give over no travaile; leave no exploit so difficult and dangerous unattempted, for the upholding of the Papacie, and advancing of that Religion, on which all their comfort and credit in this life, all their hope of prærogative in the life to come dependeth; being of the other side esteemed for the most lousie companions, the most unprofitable drones, the most devouring Locusts, the most Reprobate Ignoble Ignominious and wicked race, that ever the world was yet pestered with, in summe, more vile than the very mire that they tread on.

There was never yet State so well plotted in this World, or furnished with such store of instruments to imploy in the service thereof, as to bee able to practise and perswade with the multitude otherwise than in their publike assemblings or other meetings, the Papacie onely excepted : who by reason of the infinity of these religious people, all made out of other folkes stuffe, and maintained at other mens charge, is able and doth deale in particular and private, as occasion requireth, with men, women and children of how meane estate soever, instructing, exhorting, confirming, adjuring, kindling them in such sort, as makes fittest for their drift and
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for the end they have proposed.

The difference in force and effectualnesse of operation between which private perswasions, and those publike preachings, where the hearers according to the use of mans nature neglect that in particular which is commended to their regard in common; though easie to conceive; Yet they onely can sufficiently perhaps esteeme, who have seene a Frier an abandoner of the world, a man wholly rapt with divine affections and extasies, his apparail denouncing contempt of all earthly vanitie, his countenance preaching severitie, penance and discipline, breathing nothing but sighes for the hatred of sinne, his Eyes lifted upwards as fixed on his joyes, his head bowed on the one side with tenderesse of love and humilitie, extending his ready hand to lay hold on mens soules, to snatch them out of the fierie jawes of that gaping black Dragon, and to place them in the path that conducts to Paradise; when such a man I say, shall addresse himselfe to a woman, whose sex hath beene famous ever for devotion and credulousnesse, or to any other vulgar person of what sort soever, perswading, beseeching with all plausible motions of reason, yea with sighes of feare, and teares of love, instanting and importuning no other thing at their hands than onely this, to be content to suffer God to save their soules and to crowne them with everlasting happinesse: which they shall certainly attaine by ranging themselves with the heavenly Armie of God, that is, by adjoyning themselves to the Church of Christ and his Vicar; and this againe and againe

gaine at sundry times iterated and pursued with shew of incredible care of their good, without seeking other meed or commodity to himselfe, save onely of being the instrument of a soules salvation, Is it to be mervailed though such a man be received as an Angell of God, sent expressly for their salvation to whom he comes: though hee prevaile and possesse them in such forcible sort, that no accessse remaine for any contrary perswasion; that nothing so violent which they will not attempt, nothing so deare which they will not bestow for the advancement of that church, by which themselves hope finally to be so highly exalted? And although all Friers being of so divers mettall are not able to play their parts so naturally and with such perfection as some that I have seene: yet being trayned up in the same schoole they all hold one course; and certainly by their dealing thus with men at single hand in private and particularly applyed perswasions (which though they use not continually, yet neglect they not whensoever opportunity doth require,) they prevaile as experience doth daily shew, exceedingly.

What may I now say of their Readinesse to Undertake and their Resolutenesse to Execute what is how dangerous and desperate soever, that may tend to the advancement of their side or Order? I neede not seeke farre backe, nor farre off for examples. The late HENRY of France slaine by a Iacobine, and this man wounded by a Scholler of the Iesuites, the one for want of Zeale onely in their violent courses; the other as misdoubted of

sinceritie in his Conversion; may shew what measure theyr profest enemies were to attend, if they could obtain as open and ready accessse unto them. At this present the King hath gone in daunger of his life a long while from a Capuchine, having at the instigation as is sayd of certeine Iesuits of Lorraine undertaken to dispatch him: whose Picture being brought hither by the MARRQUIS DU PONT, caused search for him over all Paris, and at length hee is taken, and lastly also executed, together with another Iacobine convicted of the same Crime. And what may it not be thought these men would do; being commanded by their Generalls whom they have vowed to obey, and in the Popes necessary service, and with his expresse desire; who are carried with so desperate rage and furie, against whatsoever impediment their bare conceits without warrant of higher Authoritie present unto them? And as in violent attempts to be executed by themselves they are men resolved and hardy; as having no posteritie to be oppressed by theyr ruine, which of all other things doth conteine men most in dutie; so in exciting the multitude to Sedition and tumult in favour of theyr cause and of their Catholike religion, they are as sedulous and secret; using the opportunitie of Confession to practise the vulgar, with annexing of such conditions to the absolution they give them, as the turne which they intend to serve requires: a point very remarkeable in weighing of the manifold fruits which at this day that Sacrament doth beare the Papacie.

Of late here at Paris it hath beene discovered, that certaine Confessors having taken a solemne promise of theyr penitents that they would live and die in the Catholike religion, yea, and die for it also if need should require: have enjoyned them thereupon to oppose by all means against the verifying of the Kings Ediēt for the **Protestants**. Soone after ensued a generall rumour and terroure of new Massacres, though uppon no other great ground for all I can learne.

But among many other points to be regarded in these Fryers, **Their very Multitude** seemeth to me to bee one not of least consideration; if the Papacie being reduced to any termes of extremity should resolve to **put them in armes** for his finall refuge and succour. The **Franciscans** alone in the time of **SIXTUS QUINTUS** their fellow and Father, are said to have been found by survey to be **XXX. thousand**. The **Capuchins** a late branch of them doe vaunt to be **VIII thousand** at this present. The **Dominicans** strive in cōpetency with the **Franciscans** in all things. The **Jesuites** great Statists are withall exceeding rich, mighty, and many: but for their greedines of wealth and rare practises to get it, infamous in all places. The **Carmelitans** and **Augustines** have their hives in every Garden and every where swarm. The other Orders of Friers & Monks being exceeding many, complain not of paucity in their severall professions. In summe; other Countries are sown but Italy thicke strewed with this kind of people: whose number perhaps in the whole may passe **a Million** of men: of

which the one halfe at the least either are or would easily grow to be of lusty able bodies, not unfit to be soone employed in any warlike service. If the Pope having plaid away the rest of his pollicies, were brought to this last hand to set uppe his rest upon these men, what should hinder him from raising huge armies of them in all places? Their course of life perhaps, their vowes and profession? whereof himselfe hath the Key to locke and open at pleasure. Their unwillingnesse of minde or backwardnesse to such actions? Which cannot be imagined by them that know their eagernesse of spirit, and consider withall their standing onely with his State, and falling with his ruine. Their unaptnesse then and indisposition of body? which fasting, watching, lying on the ground, enduring cold, exact keeping of orders, obedience to their commanders, ought rather to make fit to all military discipline. The difficulty then of assembling them in such cases together? Here needs must I celebrate the excellency and exactnesse of their order and governement, being such as needeth not yeild to any I know for that purpose. Each order hath his Generall, residing at Rome for the most part, to advise with the Pope and receive direction from him: who being men of great reputation and power, are chosen though in shew indifferently by all the Masters, that is, Doctours, of their order wheresoever; yet in an election so finely and cunningly contrived, that the voyces of Italy are farre prædominant: even as in the election of the Pope, the Italian Cardinalls, and in their moderne Gene-
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all counsellis, the Italian Bishops, doe farre exceed all the rest of christendome, that so the safety of the Papall Sea and the greatnesse of Rome may rest assured. These Generalls have under them their Provincials as Lieutenants in every Province or State of christendome: and the Provincials have under them the severall Priors of convents: and these their companies. A commandement dispatched away once from the Generall passeth roundly by the Provincials to the Priors with all speed. Being received by the inferiours, they addresse themselves to performance: yea though it commaund them a voyage to China or Peru, without dispute or delay they readily set forward.

To argue or debate their Superiours mandates, were presumption; proud curiosity, to search their reasons and secrets; to detract or disobey them, breach of vow equall to Sacrilege: so that as in a well disciplined Army, the Generall guiding, the Souldiers follow; he commaunding, they obey without farther question or doubt; so these have no other care than to performe with dexterity, what mandate soever their Generall in the plenitude of his authority shall addresse unto them. This order, this diligence, this secrecy, this obedience in a people that may wander without suspicion in all places, and finde good reliefe and aide in their passage, will answere both the former and many other objections: to which being added the good grace, wherein they are generally with the vulgar, the meanes which they have to provide themselves of all things necessary; what with their repositories

of reliques and silver Images, what with Church-plate and Treasure: wherein some of them are exceeding rich, and daily encrease: unlesse the world should with generall consent bend against them, it may bee if the times should enforce such employment, they would be able being associated with such favourers as they should find, to make a very strong part for the Pope in all places; especially considering that these forces should be then raised out of his enemies Countrey, and so weaken them, as blood drawne out of the veines of their own bodies. And that no man may deceive himselfe with that error, that in these professours of peace, there is no humor of war, that minds wholly possesst with sweet contemplation can embrace no thoughts of so bloody resolution; let him view but a little into the late French troubles, hee shall find that the military Companies of the Leaguers, were often times even stuffed with Priests and Fryers, tall men and resolute. Hee shall find that of these people there have served what in Field what in Garrison at one time, sufficient to have made a great Armie of themselves onely. Hee shall finde that at Orleans, a Capuchine being expressly sent to that purpose by his Prior, went up and downe the streets with a great wooden Crosse, crying, **Come forth "good Christian, destroy the enemies of the "Crosse of thy Saviour,** and therewith put to the sword at sundry times six-score of the Religion, till he left none remaining.

Lastly, he may understand, if hee please, that very lately in Paris some of them in their Sermons.

mons have incited : not obscurely to a new ~~Mat-~~
sacre complaining that the bodie of this Realme
 is forely diseased, beeing over-charged with
 corrupt humours, as not having beene let bloud
 these five and twentie yeeres as it ought. To
 conclude, I conceive this force of Friers to bee
 so great, what in regard of their very multitude,
 what by reason of their deadly rage against their
 opposits; that it would be hard for any State to
 bring in the Reformed Religion, without dischar-
 ging it selfe first of this difficultie and burthen.

In Germanie the first reformers of Religion in
 this age were Fryers themselves; who being men
 of great marke and reckoning amongst theyr own,
 drew theyr Convents and other troupes of theyr
 orders with them; and thereby set the rest in such
 an amazement and stand, that the Pope grew in a
 generall great jealousie of them all, as doubting
 their universall revolt from his obedience. In En-
 gland they were with great policy and practise dis-
 solved before any innovation in Religion was men-
 tioned; whereas to have done both together, had
 beene perhaps impossible: but first cleane prevent-
 ing them of pretence of Religion, and after finding
 their religion cleane stripped of that succour, both
 they were quietly ruined, and of this more quietly
 reformed.

In France this King upon that out-rage against
 his person smoked the Iesuits out of their nests in
 most parts of his Kingdome. If he had done the
 like also at the same time to the Dominicans, (a
 most potent and flourishing order in Spaine above
 all

all other,) in revenge of the murder of the King his predecessour: or if hee would and could doe it now to them and to the Capuchins, (who at this day next the Iesuites are of greatest renowne,) in punishment of these last practises so fortunately discovered; and so chastise the schooles also when he tooke their schollers in so enormous faults, there were great hope for the Reformed Religion in time to prevaile: which is now so prejudiced and persecuted by these Friers, that hardly can it keepe foot on the ground it hath. Thus much of the strength which these religious Orders doe yeild to the Papacy.

Whereto I must adde the like invention of **Spiritual Fraternities** and companies, perhaps equalling yea exceeding in number the orders of Friers: in which under the protection and in honour of some Saint, or of any other holy name or religious mystery, and often times annexing themselves to some of the orders of Friers, the lay people of all sorts, both men and women, both single and married, doe enroll themselves into one or more of these Societies; approaching so much neerer to the estate of the clergie, unto which sundry of them are no other than meere appurtenances. Whereby as they tie themselves to the Orders of them, consisting in certaine extraordinary devotions and processions, bearing also at certaine times some badge of their company: so are they made partakers of all such spiritual prerogatives, whether partnership in the churches merits, or interest in sundry Indulgences, some halfe

halfe plenarie, some whole, some for the time past; some before hand for sundry yeares to come, and chiefly the avoyding or speedy despatch out of Purgatorie; as the Pope and his antecessours for the encouragement and comfort of Christian people in their devotion have thought good in their Charitie to graunt unto them. These Fraternities are not yet growne into any great request in other places: Howbeit in Italy they have so multiplied, that few, especially of the vulgar and middle sort of men, who either are or affect any reputation of devotion, but have entred into some one of them, and sundry into many. The assurance of whom to the Papacie must needs bee doubled; sith love groweth according to the proportion of hope.

Now come I to the last ranke of Romane **Policies** arrainged **against** their professed and feared **Enemies**, by vertue whereof they both seek to re-enter where they have in this latter Age beene diseased; and practise as well for the wasting away of their opposites where they are; as for the shutting of them and their doctrine out where yet they have not beene. I will not heere enlarge upon things manifest and ordinarie, being high wayes so plaine that a guide were needlesse. Their **persecutions**, their **confiscations**, their **tortures**, their **burnings**, their **secret murders**, their **generall massacres**, their **exciting of inward sedition** and **outward hostilitie** against their adversaries; their **oppressing** and **abasing** them where themselves are the stronger,

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are things whereof they were none of the inventours : though perhaps the commendation of exact refining them, of straining them to their highest note, of sedulitie and perseverance in putting them in execution, may bee more due and proper unto them than any other. Neither yet will I meddle greatly with their art of slandering their opposites, of disgracing their persons; misreporting their actions, falsifying their doctrine and positions; things wherewith their Pulpits doe daily sound and their writings swell againe. But they are not the first neither that have runne this blacke course, no more than the former red : others have done it before them : yea the buying of mens consciences, by proposing reward to such as shall relinquish the Protestants Religion, and turne to theirs; as in Auspurg, where they say there is a knowne price for it, of ten Florens a yeare; in France where the Clergie have made contributions for the maintainance of renegade Ministers past and to come; is a devise also not fresh and of easie concept. I will rather insist upon their inventions lesse triviall, and more worthie to bee marked. A wonderfull thing it is to consider the great diversitie of humours or tempers of minde, shall I terme them, which this age hath produced in this one point wee speake of, touching the meanes of growing onward upon the adversary part. A sort of men there lives in the world at this day, whose leaders, whether upon extremity of hatred of the Church of Rome, or partly also upon some spice of selfe liking
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and singularitie to valew their owne witts and peculiar devices, did cut out in such sort their reformation of Religion, as not onely in all outward Religious services and ceremonies, in government and Church discipline; to strive to bee as unlike to the Papacie as was possible, but even in very lawfull policies for the advantaging and advancing of their part, to disdaine to seeme to any to bee imitators of their wisdome, whose wickednesse they so much abhorred: much like to a stout hearted and stiff-witted Captaine, who scornes to imitate any stratageme before used by the enemy, though the putting it in exploit might give him assured victory. Neither doe those mens schollars as yet a whit degenerate: yea perhaps that disease, (if with leave I may so censure it) hath tainted in some degree all the protestant party, who never could find the meanes in all this age to assemble a generall Councell of all their side, for the composing of their differences, and setting order in their proceedings; for want I must confesse, of some opportunities, but of a great deale of zeale also in their Governours, as to me it seemeth. Neither yet have they in any one of all their dominions, erected any Colledge of meere contemplative persons, to confront and oppose against the Iesuites: but have left this weightie burthen of clearing the controversies, of perfecting the sciences, of answering the adversaries writings of exceeding huge travaile, either upon their ordinary Ministers, to be performed at times of leysure from their office of preaching, (and they performe

it accordingly:) or upon such as in Vniuersities ha-
 ving some larger scope shall willingly and of their
 owne accord undertake it for some time according
 to their abode.

Whereas on the contrary side the Papacie seems
 unto mee very diligently and attentively to have
considered and weighed, **by what meanes** chief-
 ly **their aduerse part hath growne so fast**, be-
 yond either their owne expectation, or the feare
 of their enemies; as in lesse than an age to have
 won perhaps a moietie of their Empire from them;
 and those very meanes themselves to have resolved
 thence-forward to apply in strong practise on their
 side also; that so as by a countermine they may ei-
 ther blow up the mines of their aduersaries, or at
 leastwise give them stop from any farther procee-
ding: like a politicke Generall, who holdeth it the
 greatest wisdome, to out-go his enemy in his owne
 devises; and the greatest valor, to beat him at his
 owne weapons. I will not here presume to presse
 in with my determination upon this great diffe-
 rence and question; although it seeming to mee to
 be no other than a plaine quarrell between stomack
 and discretion, a small deale of wisdome methinkes
 might decide it: especially considering that all
 good things are from God, though they be found
 in his very enemy; and whosoever is not unjust, be-
 ing used in a good course is good.

The first and chiefe meanes whereby the **Refor-**
mers of Religion did preuaile in all places, was
 their singular assiduitie and dexteritie in **prea-**
ching, especially in great Cities and Palaces of
 Princes;

Princes; (a trade at that time growne cleane in a manner out of use and request;) whereby the people being ravished with the admiration and love of that light which so brightly shined unto them, as men with the Sunne who are newly drawne from a dungeon; did readily follow those who carried so faire a Lampe before them. Hereto may be added their publishing of Treatises of Vertue and Pietie, of spirituall exercises and devotion; which ingendred a firme perswasion in the minds of men, that the soile must needs be pure sound and good, from whence so sweet, so wholesome, and so heavenly fruits had proceeded. Now though the opinions of the Papacie and of a great part of the Reformed Religion be as opposite herein well-nigh as heate and cold, as light and darkenesse; the one approving no devotions severed from understanding, to be a meanes often rather to divert or dazle the devotion than to direct and cherish it: and for Preaching in like sort the French Protestants making it an essentiall and chiefe part of the service of God; whereas the Romanists make the masse only a work of duty, and the going to a Sermon but a matter of convenience, and such as is left free to mens pleasures and opportunities without imputation or sinne: yet in regard of the great sway which they have learned by their losse that these carie in the drawing of mens minds and affections, they have endeavoured in all places in both these kinds to equall yea and surmount their adversaries. For although in multitude of Preachers they greatly come short, being an exercise wherein the secular Priests

list not distēpēr their brainēs much, but commend it in a manner wholly to the Regulars and Fryers: and these thinking the Country capacities too blockish, or otherwise not worth the bestowing of so great cost on, doe employ themselves wholly in Cities and other places of greater resort; all which they have great care to have competently furnished: yet in the choyse of them whom they send out to preach, in the dilligence and paines which they take in their Sermons, in the ornaments of eloquence, and grace of action, in their shew of pietie and reverence towards God, of zeale towards his truth, of love towards his people: which even with their teares they can often testifie; they match their adversaries in their best, and in the rest doe farre exceede them. But herein the Iesuities doe carry the Bell from all other; having attained the commendation and working the effect, of as perfect Oratours as these times doe yeeld. And of these beside certaine drawne yearely by lot to goe preach abroad among Infidels and Hereticks, and besides other times of the yeare wherein they preach to their Catholiks at Lent in especiall, by order from their Generall residing at Rome, their choyse Preachers are sent out, one to each Citie in Italie, with yeerely change. And the custome of Italy is for the same man to preach every day in Lent without intermission, if their strength will serve them; whereof six dayes in the weeke to preach on the Gospells apportioned; and the Saturday in honour and praise of our Lady. So in their yearely change,
there

there is the delight of varieties ; and in their daily continuing of the same, the admiration of industrie. Some such like course it is to bee thought that the Iesuits hold also in other Countries ; their projects being certaine, and exactly pursued. But wonderfull is the reputation which redounds thereby to their order, and exceeding the advantage which to their side it giveth.

For Bookes of Prayer and Piety, all Countries are full of them at this day in their owne language : both to stop in part the out-cry of their adversaries against them for imprisoning the people wholly in those darke devotions ; and specially to win the love of the world unto them by this more inward and lively shew of true sanctitie and godlinesse : Yea herein they conceive to have so surpassed their opposites, that they forbear not to reproach unto them their povertie, weakenes, and coldnesse in that kind, as being forced to take the Catholiks bookes to supply therein. Which as on this side it cannot be altogether denied to be true ; so on the other side it had greatly beene to be wished, that those bookes of Christian Resolution and exercise had beene the fruits of the Consciences rather than of the wits of those that made them ; (which in some of them, as PARSONS by name, to have beene otherwise, besides the rest of his actions unsutable to those Resolutions, some of the more zealous also in their way have not forborne to confesse :) that by performing of so good workes with a good minde, to a good end, and conforming their owne lives and demeanours accordingly, they might have prepared
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mens minds to an hope of a thorough reconciliati-
on; whereas now by using holinesse it selfe for a
meere instrument of practises, and to win men to
their partie, they cannot but drive the world into
such a labyrinth of perplexities and jealousies, as to
suspect alwayes their pol. cies, and despaire of their
honesties.

A second thing whereby the Protestant part hath
so greatly enlarged, hath beene their well **Edu-
cating of Youth**, especially in the principles of
Christian Religion and pietie: wherein their care
and continuance is even at this day in many places
very worthy to be commended of all, and imitated
by them who have hitherto beene more remisse in
that kind than were requisite; the education of youth
and sowing in those pure minds the seeds of vertue
and truth, before the weeds of the world doe canker
and change the soyle, being by the consent of the
most renowned wise men in the World, a point
of incomparable force and moment for the well
ordering and governing of all kind of States, and
for the making of Common-wealths ever flourish-
ing and happie.

And as good education is the preservation of a
good state; so all kind of education conforming to
the Lawes and Customes in being, upholdeth
states in the tearmes wherein they are: the first sea-
soning with opinions and accustomances whatsoe-
ver, being of double force to any second perswas-
ions and usages: not comprising herein those nimble
and quicksilverd braines which itch after change, li-
ving in their opinions as in their garments, to be
noted

noted to be followers of outlandish fashions, as being of a more refined and sublimed temper than that their Country conceits can satisfie. Herein then the Papacie being taken short by the Protestants (even as in the former,) and mightily overrun ere they were aware thereof: notwithstanding as difficulties doe rather kindle than daunt the generous spirits, and adde that to their diligence which was wanting in their timeliness; so these men have bestirred themselves so well therein, to follow the trace which their adversaries had led them, that in fine they have in some sorts outgrowne them in it, and quoted them in all, one onely excepted, that they respect not much the instruction of the children of the meener sort; as being likely to sway little; whereas the Protestants seeme in religious instruction indifferent to both. But for the rest, what it is they have omitted: what Colledges for their owne, what Seminaries for strangers, to support and perpetuate their factions and practises in their enemies dominions, have they not instituted almost in all parts of Christendome, and maintaine still at their owne and favourites charge? Is it a small brag which some of their side doe make, that their English Seminaries abroad send forth more Priests than our two Universities at home doe Ministers? Behold also the Iesuites, the great Clerkes, Politicians and Orators of the World, who vaunt that the Church is the soule of the World, the Clergie of the Church, and they of the Clergie; doe floupe also to this burthen, and require it to bee charged wholly upon their necks and shoulders. In all pa-

ces where-ever they can plant their Nests, they open Free Schooles for all studies of humanitie. To these flocke the best witts and principall mens sons, in so great abundance, that wherever they settle, other Colleges become desolate, or frequented onely by the baser sort and of heavier mettall: And in truth, such is their diligence and dexteritie in instructing, that even the Protestants in some places send their sonnes unto their Schooles, upon desire to have them prove excellent in those arts they teach. Besides which, being in truth but a baite and allure-ment whereto to fasten their principall and finall hook; they plant in their schollers with great exactnesse and skill the rootes of their Religion, and nourish them with an extreame hatred and detestation of the adverse partie. And to make them for ever intractable of any contrary perswasion, they worke into them by great cunning and obstinacie of mind, and sturdie eagernesse of spirit, to affect victorie with all violence of wit in all their concertations: Than which no greater enemy to the finding of truth: which being pure and single in his owne nature and author, appeareth not but to a cleare and sincere understanding, whom neither the fumes of fierie passions doe misten, nor sinister respects or præjudices sway downe on either side from the pitch of just integritie. Neither thinke I any unfit-ter sort of men in the world to bee employed in the contemplation and search of truth, than these hote men and headie, who being suddaine in their actions, rise lightly in that which cometh first to hand, and being stiffe in their resolutions

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are transported with every præjudicate conceipt from one error into another; having neither the patience they should, to weigh all points diligently; nor the humilitie to yeeld up their owne fancies to reason; neyther yet that high honourable wisdom, as to know that truth being the mark they professe to strive at, in the overthrow of their errors they attaine the summe of their desires, and remaine Conquerours, by being conquered. Yea sundry times have I seene two eager disputers lose the truth and let it fall to the ground betweene them, which a calme-minded hearer hath taken up and possessed. But these Iesuites præsuming perhaps of the truth beforehand, and labouring for no other thing then the advancing of their partie, endeavour, as I sayd, by all meanes to imbreed that fiercenesse and obstinacie in their schollers, as to make them hate prosecutors of their owne opinions, impatient and intractable of any contrary considerations; as having their eyes fixt upon nothing save onely victorie in arguing. For which cause to strengthen in them those passions by exercise, I have seene them in their bare Grammaticall disputations enflame their schollars with such earnestnesse and fiercenesse, as to seeme to bee at the point of flying each in th'others faces, to the amazement of those strangers which had never seene the like before, but to their owne great content and glory as appeared. Over and above all this, they have instituted in their Schooles a speciall fraternitie or congregation of our Lady,

with certaine select exercises and devotions : into which it being a reputation to bee admitted, it must cause incongruities the forwardest of their schollars to fashion themselves by all meanes as to cement their humours : and so to bee received in shew into a degree of more honourable estimation, but in truth unto no other than a double bond of assurance. I shall not neede here to insert their singular diligence and cunning in entising, not seldom the most Noble of their schollars, and oftentimes the most adorned with the graces of nature and industrie : especially, if they have likelihood of any wealthie succession, to abandon their friends, and to professe their Order ; (a thing daily practised by them in all places :) yea where-ever they espie any youth of rarer spirit, they will bee tempering with him, though he be the onely sonne and solace of his Father.

Whereby though they draw on them much clamor and stomacke, yet doe they greatly enhaunce the renowne of their societie, by furnishing it with so many persons of excellent qualitie or nobilitie ; whom afterwards they employ with great judgement as they finde each fittest. Neither yet doe they here make an end with this part ; this order hath also their solemne Catechizing in their Churches on Sundayes and Holidayes for all youth that will come or can be drawne unto it ; that in no point the diligence of their adversaries may upbraid them.

But this point of their Schooles and instructing youth : is thought of such moment by men of wise-

wisedome and judgement, being taught so by very experience and tryall thereof; that the planting of a good Colledge of Iesuits in any place is esteemed the onely sure way to replant that Religion, and in time to eate out the contrarie. This course hold they in all Germanie, in Savoy, and other places: and the excluding it from France is infinitely regretted, and that which makes them uncertaine what will become of that Kingdome.

A third course that much advantaged the Protestants proceedings, was their **Offers of Disputation** to their adversaries in all places; their iterated and importuned suits for publicke audience and judgement: a thing which greatly assured the multitude of their soundnesse, whom they saw so confident in abiding the hazard of tryall, being that whereof the want is the onely prejudice of truth, and the plentie the onely discoverie and ruine of falsehood; they standing in like termes as a substantiall just man and a facing shifter, whereof the ones credit is greatest there where he is best knowne, and the others where he is least. And by reason that the Romanists were not so cunning then in the questions, nor so ready in their evasions and distinctions as they are now growne: the effect of these disputations whether received or refused, was in most places such as to draw with them an immediate alteration of Religion.

Herunto may be added those admirable paines which those first Reformers undertooke and performed,

med, in translating the Scriptures forth-with into all languages, in illustrating all parts thereof with ample comments, in addressing Institutions of Christian Religion, in deducing large histories of the Church from the foundation to their present times, in furnishing all common places of Divinie with abundance of matter, in exact discussing of all controverted questions, and lastly in speedy reply to all contrary writings: the greatest part of these labours tending to the justifying of their own doctrine, and to the discoverie of the Corruption and rottenesse of the other; that they might over-bear those with the streames of the evidence of reason, by the strength of whose power they complained to be over-borne. There is not scarce any one of these kinds of writings (save the translating of the Bible into vulgar languages,) wherein the Romanists have not already, or are not like very shortly, eyther to aquall or to exceede their adversaries: in multitude of workes, as being more of them that apply those studies, in diligence, as having much more opportunities of helpes and leysure; in exactnesse, as comming after them and reaping the fruits of their travails; though in truth, they come short; and in ingenuity, being truths companion. But as for the Controversies themselves, the maine matter of all other, therein their industrie is at this day incomparable: having so altered the tenures of them, refined the states, subtilized the distinctions, sharpned their owne proofes, devised certaine and resolved on eyther answers or evasions for all their adversaries arguments, allegations and replies;

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(yea, they have differences to divert their strongest oppositions, interpretations to elude the plainest texts in the world, circumstances and considerations to enforce their owne seeliest conjectures, yea reasons to put life into their deadeft absurdities; as in particular, a very faire case in Schoole-learning and proportions, to iustifie their Popes graunts of many score thousand yeeres pardon;) that in affiance of this furniture, and of their promptnesse of speech and witt, which by continuall exercise they aspire to perfect, they dare enter into combate even with the best of their oppugners, and will not doubt but either to entangle him so in the snares of their owne quirks, or at leastwise so to avoyd and put off his blowes with the manifold wards of their multiplied distinctions, that an ordinary auditor shall never conceive them to bee vanquished, and a favourable shall report them vanquishers.

Whereupon they now to bee quit with their adversaries, and by the very same art to draw away the multitude, cry mainly in all places for tryall by disputations. This *Campion* the Iesuite did many yeeres since with us: this as I passed through Zurich did the Cardinall *Andrea* of Constance and his Iesuites with their Ministers, being by auncient right within his diocesse. Not long before, the same was done at Geneva, and very lately the Capuchins renewed the challenge. In which parts I observed this descreet yalour on both sides; that as the Romanists offer to dispute in the adversaries own Cities, which they know their Magistrates will never accord, so the Ministers in supply thereof, offer

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to goe to them to their Cities, and that now is as much disliked on th'other part; each side being content that the fire should be kindled rather in his enemies house than in his owne. Yea there are not wanting some temperers among them, that have beene talking a long while (whether out of their owne dreames, or out of the desires of some greater persons, which I halfe conjecture,) of a **Generall** **solennie Conference** to bee sought and procured of the choyse & chiefe every way of both the sides; under pretence of drawing matters to some tolerable composition; but in truth, as I conceive, rather to overbeare and disgrace the contrarie cause, with their varietie of engins, and strength of wit to wield them at all assayes at pleasure, than upon sinceritie of affections, or probability of any unitie or peace to ensue. So great is their hope of having cure by that very weapon from whence heretofore they have had their wounds.

The fourth way that mightily afflicted the Papacie, and consequently advanced the Reformation in her proceedings; was a course in my opinion surely more excusable where it cannor, than commendable, where it can be spared: and that is the **Discoverie** of the private **blottes** of an enemies, farther than the question in hand constraineth. Howsoever, the Protestants, at leastwise sundry of them, by example of those ancient renowned Oratours, ripped up to the quick the lives of their adversaries in their particular actions, especially of the Popes and of their Prelates, as also of their Votaries of all sorts and sexes.

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Wherein the store of matter was so huge; the quality of it so enormous, loathsome and ougly, matchable in all kind of villany to the veriest monsters of the Heathen; the persons defiled with it of so eminent place in the steering and unholding of their Church; and lastly the truth thereof so undoubted and certaine, being drawne from the times past out of their owne stories and authors Printed and approved among themselves to be true, for that present, being of things done ordinarily for the most part and openly in the sight of all men at Rome, and in Italy, (even as they continue perhaps not much better in many things at this very day:) that the publishing and presenting it to the prepared mindes of the world, besides an extreame horror and detestation which it brought, did worke in them this perswasion also, that it could not be but Hell-gates had prevailed against that Sea, whose Governours, whose Prælates, whose Priests, whose Virgins, had lived most of them so long time in the very jaws of the Prince of Hell, neither that it was probable they had beene carefull in preserving the doctrine of Christianity, who had beene so carelesse of all parts of Christian life and honesty. And as in their lives so in their writings also of doctrine and devotion, and in their actions concerning them: their deifying of the Pope with most impious flattery; their abusing of the Scriptures with all irreverence and prophanity; their juggling in their Images to make them weepe, sweate and bleed, to raise in the people a devotion towards them, of Heathenish Idolatry; their forging of miracles, in exorcismes,

eismes, incures, in apparition of foules, for their Lucre and advantage; their graunting of pardons to some Prayers before Images for XXX. thousand long yeares; their pardons for sinnes to come before they be committed; their shamelesse and ridiculous tales of our Saviour and their Saints, making marriages here upon earth betweene him and some of their women-Saints, with infinite childish vanity and sottish absurdity, as to their adversaries it seemed; (though themselves I must confesse conceive otherwise of them, some of their graver Doctours both preaching them still in Pulpit, and publishing them newly in ample and elaborate histories;) their promising to the use of certaine devotions to our Lady, to have a sight of her sometime before their dying dayes; adding to this and much more their falsifying and forgery in all matters of antiquity, thrusting in, cutting out, suppressing true, suborning feyned writings, as their turnes did require: all which though being in this sort unto them: they had either their allegations of good intents to defend; or at leastwise their commiserations of humane infirmity to excuse them: yet were they not so waisted away from the mindes of the people, who could not conceive this house to have beene guided by the Spirit of God, wherein they saw so many foule spirits of Pride and Hypocrisie, of lying and deceiving, to have borne so great office so long and without controllment. These things being perceived by the favorites of the Papacy to have made so deepe impression in the hearts of all men,

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and to have greatly prejudiced them in their more plausible allegations, mens hearts being already taken up and fraught with detesting them; they have cast about for revenge and redresse in the same kinde; not as the plaine blunt Protestant, who finding all his matter made ready to his hands, bestowed no other cost but the collecting and setting it in some order together; but like a supernaturall Artisan, who in the sublimity of his refined and refining wit, disdaines to bring onely meere art to his worke, unlesse he make also in some sort the very matter it selfe; so these men in blacking the lives and actions of the Reformers, have partly devised matter of so notorious untruth, that in the better sort of their owne writers it happens to bee checked; partly suborned other Postmen to compose their Legends, that afterwards they might cite them in prooffe to the world as approved authors and histories; as is evident in the lives of CALVIN and BEZA, written by their sworne enemy *Bolsacke*, the twice banished and thrice renegade Fryer and Physitian, for those names his often changes and hard chances have given him.

This man being requested by their side to write thus, is now in all their writings alleaged as classically and Canonically. But in this kinde surely methinks the conditions of these parties are too too unequal. For the Protestant whatsoever he say either in impeaching his adversary, or clearing his owne actions, unlesse he can directly prove it

out of the adversaries owne writings, it is with them as nothing, and no better than are *Testes domestici* in the Law : whereas the Romanist, whatsoever he slanderously surmiseth, unlesse the other party be able by direct prooffe to disprove it, (which being to justifie the negative is alwaies very difficult, and for the most part impossible ;) hee triumphs as in a matter of truth not to be gaine-said; and howsoever makes his accompt, that in these kindes of blowes, even where the wound is cured, the skarre lightly continueth. At this present they give out that they have a booke in hand of the lives of the Ministers of England: amongst whom it were to be wished, that some who by their examples in dissolutenesse and corruption have given occasion of offence against the Order it selfe, might by their exemplary punishment withall expiate the reproach.

Though at these mens hands, who in disgrace of our Prælates have cited *MARPRELATE* in their late bookes for a grave Authour and witnesse, and others of like and lesse indifferency and honesty : the innocent and culpable are to expect perhaps like measure. Then for the writings and doctrine of the Protestants, the bookes of some of our owne Country-men besides many other are famous; who have taken a toyle, how meritorious God knowes, surely very laborious, out of infinite huge volumes, which that part hath written, to picke out whatsoever, especially severed from the rest, may seeme to be either absurdly, or falsly, or fondly, or scandalously, or dishonestly; or passionately, or fluttishly; con-

conceived or written; for even in that kind having the advantage of the homely phrase of our Country, and namely in those times; they have not spared: and these with their crossings and contradictings one of another set cunningly together, they present to the view of the world; and demaund whether it be likely that these men should have beene chosen extraordinarily by God to be the Reformers of the Church, and restorers of his truth, who besides their vicious lives and hatefull conditions, in their more sober thoughts and very doctrine it selfe, were possessed with so phantastically, so wild, so contrary, so furious, so maledicent, and so slovenly spirits. Wherein as they doe in some sort imitate their adversaries; so yet with this difference, that the one hath objected that, which either as being the approved doctrine of their Church was with publicke authority delivered unto the people; or else which was so usuall amongst their Canonists and Clergie; as might plead uncontrolled custome to shew it lawfull. Whereas the other part finding belike small store of that nature, have run for supply to every particular mans writings: wherein in so huge a multitude of authors and workes, as in this over-rancke age mens fingers over itching have produced; it had beene surely a great Miracle, if they should not have found matter enough; either worthy to be blamed or easie to be depraved in their enemies writings; one of the most renowned sages and Fathers of the auncient, having found so much to condemne and retract in his owne. And if the Protestants should list to requite them in that kinde,

they might perhaps finde stufte enough, I will not say as one doth, to load an Argosie; but to over-lade any mans wit in the world to reply to. But verily these courses are base and beggerly, even when singlenes of mind and truth doth concurre with them, and farre unworthy of an ingenuous and noble spirit, which soareth up to the highest and purest paths of verity, disdaining to stand taking in these puddles of obscænrity: unworthy of that charitable and vertuous minde, which striveth by doing good to all to attaine the high honour of being an imitator of God; which is sory of those very thoughts that infect his enemy, and discloseth them no farther than is necessary either for defence of impugned truth, or for warning into the world to avoid the contagion of the disease or seducement by the dangerously and unapparently diseased. But if to this basenesse of discoveries other injustice be also added; if malice preferre them, if sleight encrease them, if falshood and slander taint them: then doe they not onely abase men from the dignity of their nature, but even associate them with the foule enemy and calumniator thereof, whose name is the slanderous accuser of his brethren. I suppose there was never man so patient in the world, (that patterne of all perfection our blessed Savior excepted,) but if a man should heap together all the cholerike speeches, all the wayward actions, that ever escaped from him in his life, and present them in one view all continuat together, (as is the fashion of some men;) it would represent him for a furious and raving bedlam; whom displaying

ing all his life in the same tenor it was led, the whole world might well admire for his courtesie, staidnesse, moderation and magnanimity. They that observe nothing in wise men but their oversights and follies, nothing in men of vertue but their faults and imperfections, from which neither the wisest nor the perfectest have beene free : what doe they but propose them as matter of scorne and abhorring, whom God having endued with principall graces hath marked out for very patterns of honor to imitate. Yea this age hath brought out those curst and thrice accursed wits who by culling out the errors and shewes of errors, by formalizing the contrarieties ; mis-interpreting the ambiguity, intangling more the obscurities, which in the most renowned authors for humane wisdom that were ever in the world their envious and malicious fine braines could search, (imitating him therein who by his labors of the very same nature, though with lesse and no ground at all, against the sacred Bible, purchased the infamous name of the enemy of Christianity,) have done that hurt unto the studies of learning, which nothing but utter extinguishing of their unlearned workes can expiate. But of this matter sufficient.

The last meanes I will here speake of that were used in setting forward the Reformation of Religion, was the diligent compiling of the **Histories** of those times and actions, and especially the **Martyrologies** of such as rendred by their deaths a testimony to that truth which was persecuted in them. These memories and stories presenting generally

nerally to the world, the singlenesse and innocency of the one part, the integrity of their lives, the simplicity of their devises, the zeale of their desires, their constancies in temptations, their tolerancy in torments, their magnanimious and celestially inspired courage and comfort in their very agonies and deaths, yeelding their bodies with all patience to the furious flames, and their soules, with all joy into the hands of him that made them: On the other side representing a serpentine generation, wholly made of fraud, of pollicies and practises, men lovers of the world, and haters of truth and godlinesse; fighters against the light, protectors of darkenesse; persecutors of marriage, and patrons of brothels, abrogators and dispensers against the Lawes of God, but tyrannous importuners and Exacters of their owne; men false in their promises, treacherous in their pretences, barbarous in their executions, breathing nothing but cruelty, but fire and sword against men that had not offended them save in their desire to amend them, which could not endure; (and much of this set out in sundry places with pictures also, to imprint thereby a more lively sence of commiseration of the one part, and detestation of the other,) did breed in mens mindes a very strong conceipt, that on the one side truth and innocence was persecuted, on the other side violence and deceipt did persecute; that the one part contrary to all humane probability, being nourished with the onely dew of divine benediction, did flourish in the flames, and like Cammilla, spread abroad by being trod under foote, the other

other notwithstanding all humaine and infernall succours and devises, yet being cursed from above, did fade and would come to ruine. The Papacy being nettled extreemely by these proceedings, hath resolved first to give over the kindling any more of those unfortunate fires, (save in places secure to keepe that law in usage,) the ashes of which they have perceived to have beene the seed of their adversaries: but rather by secret makings of men away in their Inquisitions (for which purpose as some of their owne friends in Italy have reported, whether truly or falsely I am not able to asseirme,) they have their trap doores or pit-fals in darke melancholy chambers or such other devises perhaps, and chiefly by generall massacres to extinguish them. Then to affront them in the same kinde of Martyrologies and Histories, they have first caused sundry new Fryerly stories be written also in their favour: making in them a representation of authority and justice proceeding by politicke execution of law in the necessary defence of Gods Church and Priests, and of Catholike states and Princes, against a company of base Rebels and vow-breaking Friers, of Church-robbing Politicians and Church-razing Souldiers; of infected and infecting both Schismatickes and Hæretickes, innovators of orders, underminers of government, troublets of states, overturners of Christendome: against whom if they have not hitherto sufficiently prevailed, it is to be attributed onely to the force of Popular fury, and not to any strength and

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goodnesse of their cause, much lesse to any Coelestiall and divine protection. Next for Martyrologies, they have England for their field, to triumph in: the proceedings wherein against their latter Priests and complices they aggravate to the height of *Neroes* and *Dioclesians* persecutions, and the sufferers of their side, in merits of cause, in extremity of torments, and inconstancy and patience, to the renowned Martyrs of that heroicall Church-age. Whereof besides sundry other treatises and pamphlets, they have published a great volume lately to the world in Italian, compiled with great industry, approoved by authority, (yea some of their bookes or passages illustrated also with pictures:) in sum, wanting nothing save onely truth and sincerity.

An easie thing it is without growing to the extreame impudency of palpable lying, by leaving out the bad on the one side, and the good on the other; by enforcing and flourishing all circumstances and accidents which are in our favour, and by elevating and disgracing of all the contrary; by sprinkling the termes of Honour wholly on the one part, of hatred and ignominy on the other; to make the tale turne which ~~was~~ shall please the teller. But writers of Histories should know, that there is a difference betweene their profession and the practise of advocates, pleading contrary at a barre, where the wisdom of the Iudge picketh the truth out of both sides, which is entire perhaps in neither. And verily in this kind both the protestants and papists seeme generally

nerally in the grēatest part of their stories, both too blame, though both not equally, having by their passionate reports much wronged the truth, abused this present age, and præjudiced posterity : in so much that the onely remedy now seeming to remaine, is to read indifferently the stories on both parts, to compt them as advocates, and to play the Iudge between them. But partiality seemes to have beene the chiefe fault of the Protestant, love and dislike sometime dazeling his eyes, and drawing him from an Historiographers into an Orators profession : though some of them have carried themselves therein with commendable sincerity ; even as some also of the other part have discharged themselves nobly. But surely the Priests and Friers which have medled in that kind have strangely behaved themselves, and disclosed how small reckoning they make of truth, in any thing ; their devising, their forging, their facing, their peeing, their adding, their paring, having brought not only their modesty, but their wits also in question, whether they forgot not what it was which they undertook to write ; a worke of story, or of poetry rather ; which Arts though like, yet ought they to know are different.

And for these Martyrologies, to speake of England as they do, (let the truth of Religion lye indifferent on whether side ;) unlesse difference be made betweene men, who suffer for their Conscience onely, their very adversaries having no other crime to object against them ; and those who either in their owne particular persons, or at leastwise in

their directors whom they have chosen to follow, and vowed to obey; are convinced to have attempted against the Prince and State, and to have practised the alteration and ruine of both; if no difference be to bee made betweene those mens sufferings; let all be like, let the persecuting of sheepe and hunting of wolves be one. But enough and too much perhaps of these comparisons and imitations.

I will adde onely hereto their policy of **Newes**, for some kinde of resemblance it hath with the former. I must confesse it could not settle in my conceipt of a long time, that men of their wisdom, so well furnished with better meanes, should descend to that base and vaine devise of inventing and spreading of false **Newes** in their favour; being an odious kinde of abusing the world, and such also as in the end comming to be checked with the truth redounds to the deepe disgrace and discredit of the Authours; being accounted no other than the tricke of a bankrupt.

Howbeit finding by experience that this, frequent among them in other places, at Rome above all other was a most ordinary practise; from whence during the time of my abode in Italy, besides other lesse memorable, there came first solemne **Newes**, that the Patriarke of Alexandria with al the Greek Church of Africa had by their Ambassadors submitted and reconciled themselves to the Pope, and received from his Holynesse absolution and benediction; there being no such matter as I learned afterward of a Greeke Bishop, who hath particular

acquaintance and intelligence with that Patriarke:
 Another time that the King of Scots amongst ma-
 ny acts worthy of a Christian Prince, had chased a-
 way the Ministers, yea and executed two of them,
 confiscating their goods, and bestowing them up-
 on the Catholikes: which newes was soone after
 recalled from the same place: Not long after, that
 Beza the Arch-hereticke, *Caluins* Successour,
 drawing towards his death, had in full Senate at
 Geneva recanted his Religion, exhorting them if
 they had care to save their soules, to seek reconciliation
 with the Catholicke Church, and to send
 for the Iesuites to instruct them, whereupon both
 himselfe by speciall order from the Pope was ab-
 solved by the Bishop of Geneva, ere he dyed, and
 the City had sent to Rome an Ambassage of sub-
 mission: a beginning of which newes it was my
 chaunce to heare, (as being whispered among the
 Iesuites,) two moneths ere it brake out, but when
 it was once advertised so solemnly from Rome, it
 ranne over all Christendome, and in Italy was so
 verily believed to be true, that there were as is said,
 who rode on very purpose to see those Ambas-
 sadors of Geneva, yet invisible: and to make
 up the full measure of that noble policy, I being
 afterwards at Lyons, and understanding that
 the Post of Rome there then passing for Spaine,
 gave confidently out that he had seen the Queene of
 Englands Ambassadors at Rome making great
 instance for agreement and amity with his
 Holynesse, and to have her re-catholized and
 absolved: (newes as to me then seemed, but out

purposely for Spaine, and to console their favourers and afflicted adherents:) Finding also by the observation and judgement of some wise men, that the Iesuites are the Masters of that worthy Mint, and that all these Chymicall Coynes are of their stamp: yea and that their glorious newes of the miraculous proceedings of the Fathers of their Society in converting the Indies are not thought much truer: And lastly, perceiving that the doctrine of that side in their cases of Conscience, making it lawfull for them to equivocate with their adversaries in their answers, though given upon their oathes, whensoever their lives or liberties are touched; yet the Iesuites are noted by some of their owne friends, to be too hardy equivocators, and their equivocations too harde: (whereof they give example, of a Iesuite who instructed a maid-servant in England; that if she were examined whether she knew of any Priest resorting to her Masters-house, shee should sweare if shee were put to it, that shee knew not of any; which she might do lawfully with this secret intent, that she knew not of any, viz. with purpose to disclose them; though other defend this as a point of allowable wisdom.

All these things considered, it hath made me to mitigate my former imagination, and to deem it not impossible, that this over-politick and too wise Order may reach a note higher, than our grosse conceits, who think honesty the best policy, and truth the only durable armor of proofe; and may find by their refined observations of experience, that newes make their impression upon their first reporting, & that

that then if they be good, they greatly raise up the spirits, & confirme the minds, especially of the vulgar, who easily beleeve all that their betters tell them; that afterward when they happen to be controlled, mens spirits being cold are not so sensible as before, and either little regard it, or impute it to common error and uncertainty of things; yea and that the good news commeth to many mens eares, who never heare of the check it hath. And at leastwise it may serve their turne for some present exploit, as Merchants doe by their newes, (whether imitators or imitated of these men I know not,) who finding some difficulty in accomodating their affaires, have in use to forge letters or otherwise to raise bruits either of some prosperous successe in their Princes actions, (as our men they say at Constantinople,) or of some great alteration in some kind of merchandise, (as certain not long since have done at Paris,) which may serve for that present instant to expedite their businesse.

Yet surely me thinks these learned Fathers shold consider, that though lying be held for a necessary fault in Merchants, (if any fault be necessary which for my part I hold not:) yet can it not be admitted an allowable pollicy for Divines, being the offspring of that Arch-enemy of the Deity and Divinity. And if as a dead Flye doth vitiate a whole box of sweet oyntment; so a little folly may blemish greatly a very wise-man, and some falsehood discredit withall the delivery of much truth: then verily will I be bold to crave leave at their hands, if admiring them in the rest
of

of their super-subtill inventions, I arrange this among the poore policies of the **Hospital** of the **Deperat**.

Now these being the weapons wherewith they fight against their adversaries, they whetten them by framing an **Utter Breach** or separation in all religious duties betweene their party and their opposites; not onely in such points as wherein they dissent, (which is the part of all men that list not to wound their owne consciences:) neither yet of all Ecclesiasticall duties alone; (which sundry other Churches auncient and moderne have done and still do, as thinking that the good things which Hereticks retaine, are vitiated by those bad wherewith either their faiths or functions are stayned (though perhaps there be a dram more of zeale than Charity in the ingredients of that Canon, unlesse the Heresie be capital, and directly opposite to the Glory of God or honour of our Saviour:)) but the Church of Rome at this day in their more usuall practise hath so strained that string, as to stretch it out even to all divine duties whatsoever though not Ecclesiasticall, but performed by private persons and in severall as occasion serves, neither to such onely as the Faith hath reveiled unto us Christians; but even those which the light of Nature hath taught all men in the world, yea Pagans and Barbarians, as yeelding glory to God, imploring his ayd and favour, rendring him thanks for his benefits; in none of which actions doe they willingly joyne with the Protestants; being so though not publickely and universally commanded by

by the soveraigne Lord and Law of their Church, yet counselled (as the effect doth shew) in private by their particular instructors, directors, and Confessours. If a Protestant begin to settle himselfe to pray with that praier which the lips of our Saviour have sanctified and taught, it is now so polluted by passing through his lips, that a Romane Catholike will hardly stay in the roome. If he use that voyce which all the creatures of God in their severall languages do dayly sound forth, & say **God be praised, or Glorie to the highest**, the Romanist alone is silent, and will not ioine his assent. If at meate he yeild thanks unto God for his blessings, bee it but with *Deo gratias*, which was ever in St. *Augustines* mouth; though this chase not the Catholike away from his dinner (which were to his losse,) neither make they it simply unlawfull to adde his **Amen**; yet commonly and more willingly hee doth forbear it, where he may securely do so without farther offence.

On the contrarie side a Romane-Catholike will not easily say Grace, though it bee at his owne table, when a Protestant is present; thinking better to leave God unserved, than that a Protestant ioine in serving him. Though the custome of giving God thanks at meales is generally among those Catholikes grown cleane out of use both in France and Italy for ought I could see; as not knowing that a Popes pardon is gained by the use of Grace Cups.

In summe, they are more averse to ioine with the Protestant in doing honour to God, than with

the very brut-beastes; if beastes by proper speech could sound forth Gods prayse, as the Legends of their Saints in their favour doe fancy. Wherein how religiously they have proceeded for the amplifying and advancing of Gods Service, that God doth know: how charitably towards their neighbours, that themselves do know: how politickly for the strengthening of their owne partie among their enemies, that the world may know by these few considerations.

First by this course, they keepe their lay-followers in a perpetuall darke ignorance of the Protestants faith and Religion; having made it an high degree of deadly sinne, eyther to reade their bookes, or to heare their Sermons, or to be present at their service, or almost any way to communicate with them in Religious duties whatsoever. Whereby whatsoever their lay-multitude conceiveth of the Reformed Religion or of the points of doctrine which therein are taught, is that onely which the enemies thereof do tell them: who report it according to the distast of their owne stomacks, and as may represent it in most odious and hideous forme to the hearers: so that now no more marveile (which experience doth teach) that seldome or never a lay-Roman-Catholike can bee found that conceiveth rightly of any almost of the Protestants positions: sith seldome or never was Romane-Priest yet to be shewen, that hath not falsified and depraved them viterly in reporting them. Whereas if those lay-Catholikes should once open their eares to know the Protestants opinions from themselves that hold them,

(which

{which was the use of the old world in their ingenuous simplicitie and singlenesse of proceeding : they would not bee found eyther so absurd perhaps, but that a reasonable ; or so wicked, but that a religious mind might embrace them.

Then secondly, by this meanes they do knit their owne faction more fast together, and unite them more firmly to the head there of the Pope ; sith no service of God but in his communion, and with him no conjunction without utter separation and estranging from his enemies. Whereas if his party should but joyne with the Protestants in such services of God as are allowed by both ; this concurring with them in some actions, might abate that utter dislike which they have now of their whole way : yea and haply taking a liking of them in some things they might bee drawne still on by degrees to other, and so finally slip away, or grow cold in their first affections. For factions as by disparitie of mindes they are raised, so by strangeness they are continued and grow immortall : whereas contrariwise they are asslaked and made calme by entercourse, by parlie they are reconciled, by familiaritie they are extinguished. A memorable example of the vertue of this policy, our owne Country in these latter times hath yeelded : where in the first Reformation under King *Edward*, the Prelates and Clergie having before under King *Henry* discarded the Pope, did easily ioyne with the Protestants, though not in their opinions, yet in the publike service of God in the Churches, being indifferently composed and offensive to neyther part. And but

that the Pope soone after upon extraordinary cause was restored to his former authority by *Queene Mary*; that faction had in likelihood beene long since ended. But after that the Pope was once againe admitted, and had liberty to temper with his partie at pleasure, in the second Reformation, by her Majestie, not a Bishop of his could be perswaded to come to our Churches, but choosing rather losse of living, and the greatest part also imprisonment, they laide thereby the foundation of that faction of Recusants, which hath since beene continued by their follo wers unto this day, notwithstanding our Service be lesse offensive to them than in King *Edwards* time, and in no part opposite to any point of their beliefe. But so hath it seemed good to their politicke Governours, by this utter breach and alienation to preserve and perpetuate the remaines of their partie; and that in the midst of their much more potent adversaries, though armed with Lawes, quickned with suspicions, yea and exasperated by their often dangerous practises against them. Now in that they proceede also yet one step farther; and not onely inhibite their partie the reading of Protestant-bookes, and repaire to their Churches, but discourcill also all ioyning with them in any service of God, by whomsoever and how lawfull sort soever performed: thereby doe they engender in them (according to their desire) an extreame hatred and bitter detestation of their opposites. For if the Protestants by reason of their enmitie with the Pope and swerving from his way, doe stand

intearmes of so deepe disfavour with God, that their Prayer it selfe doth turne into sinne; that their humble thanksgivings are abominable presumptors; to ioyne with them in prayling the Creatour of the world, is no better than disservice to his Majesty; then surely woe worth the houre wherein they were borne, and blessed bee that hand which shall worke their bane and ruine; then no stay or doubt, but what the Pope directeth, that boldly to be executed against the enemies of God. And this have they set up as a Crowne and accomplishment to the rest of their practises, against their adversaries. For now is their faction not onely kept on foote and continually mainetained without decay: but inflamed also with such hatred of their enemies, that they are ready to any violence that opportunitie can advise.

For as diversities of judgements doth grow into dislikes, and dislikes by opposition doe issue into factions: so hatred in factions doth breake out into seditions, and attendeth onely advantage to use force against those they hate. Whereas on the contrary side, the Protestant being not armed nor quickened up with such stings of hatred as his adversaries, is more cold and carelesse in his opposite desires, and exceedingly inferiour in all strong attempts and practises. But certainly howsoever in this craftie kinde of policies, which hath too much bewitched the wits of this age; and doth too much tyrannize over that auncient true wisdom wherewith the world in fore-times was more hapillie governed;

these courses may seeme very fine and effectuell for the atchieving of that end whereto they are framed: yet I suppose it would prove very hard to be shewn, how they can stand with the principles and rules of that Religion, whose roote is Truth; whose braunches are Charitie; whose fruits are good deeds, extending and even offering themselves with cheerefulnesse unto all men, to the encouraging of friends, and reclayming of enemies, to the mending of the worse, & accomplishing of the better. For if a magnanimous and noble minde in the high vertuousnesse thereof doe carrie it selfe in all actions with such moderation and measure, as that it neither hate his enemy so much in regard of his wickednesse, but that it love whatsoever in him hath resemblance of vertue; neyther yet feare him so much for his mischievous desires, as to rage and grow fierce upon him in his weakenesse; but contenteth it selfe so farre forth onely to repress him, as may disable him thence-forward from doing hurt unto others: how much more may it seeme reasonable, that the heavenly affection of a Christian, rejoyce for whatsoever goodnes appears in any man, as finding there some lineaments of his Creatours Image, detest nothing but impietie and wickednesse, the worlds dishonour; and lastly in the true & serious worshipping of God, do ioyne when occasion offers with whatsoever of his Creatures, with united affections to cheare up his service, where scandall by shew of approving that which is evill in them doth not hinder? But this world in the basenes of his mettall, now the last and worst, and in the weakenesse of his old and decayed

decayed yeares, laying the ground of all his policie in Feare and Iealousie, issuing from a certaine consciousness of his owne worthlesnesse and want of vertue; holdeth those courses for the best, which worke with the greatest and most secret advantage against such as cyther are, or in time may become concurrents or enemies; letting passe with some tearmes of formall commendation those auncient more noble wayes, which being derived from the high Governor of both the Worlds, and having their ground on the unmovable principles of true wisdom and vertue, must needes bee of greater force, both for the upholding of those that hold them, and for the effecting of all their worthy and honourable desires, were there a firme minde to pursue them, and a strong arme to wield them; both which to this weake world are wanting. But of these matters sufficient.

It is now time that I come to the view of those meanes which are used by the Papacy for the **exclud-
ing of all access** and sound of the **Religion**, in those places where their power remaineth yet unabridged. Wherein as in other like cases before I will lightly passe over that which is apparent to all eyes: and that is what service their **Inquisition** doth therein: being in truth the principle and most forcible engine in accomplishing that worke; and such as wheresoever it and the Councell of Trent can bee thoroughly planted and established, as in Spaine and all Italy now save onely some part perhaps of the Kingdome of Naples, where the tyrannie of Spaine may be Inquisition sufficient, (as the
Inqui-

Inquisition of Spaine is also of the two the crueller;) doth rid them of feare, and their adversaries of hope, of letting in the reformation; unlesse perhaps in some universall deluge of war, whē the execution of Lawes and such searches shall be forced to cease. For this Inquisition, as a soveraigne preservative, and defective of no vertue save Iustice and Mercy, being committed lightly to the most zealous, industrious, and religious Friars that can bee found in all places, who leave no one rule thereof unpractised; taking hold of men for the least suspicion of Heresie or of affinitie or connivence with heresie that may bee, as the bare reproving sometimes the lives of their Clergy, or the having of any booke or Edition prohibited (though yet with some regard of the nature and quality of persons, seeing, many a man makes those actions suspicious, which otherwise would not make the man;) discovering men by the pressing of all mens Consciences, whom they charge under an high degree of mortall sinne and damnation, (being a case reserved, and wherein not any under an Arch-Bishop or Bishop can absolve them, as I have seene in their printed instructions at **Sienna**,) to appeach even their neerest and dearest friends if they know or but suspect them to bee culpable therein: proceeding against the detected with such secrecie and severitie, as that first they shall never have notice of their accusers, but shall bee urged to reveale their very thoughts and affections; Secondly if by long enquireie they bee taken tardy in any one thing delivered in their examinations, or can bee convicted thereof by any

two witnesses of how base or indifferent qualitie so-
 ever, without farther reply they are cast and gone;
 thirdly If nothing fall out to be proved against them,
 yet will they hold them in their **holp house** divers
 yeares some in nes, in great anguish and misery, for
 a terrour to other, and for their exacter ryall, and
 lastly, besides all their tortures and scourges, if one
 be touched the second time, nothing but death with-
 out remission: this being the diligence, this the vio-
 lence of their Inquisition it doth so sweep all quar-
 ters and corners where it walketh, that as a sweeping
 wind kills all in the bud, now wit nor provision be-
 ing possible to avoid it. Yea it is such a bridle of the
 very freedom of minde and libertie of speech,
 which they of the ir own way would otherwise use;
 & is converted in some places to such an instrument
 no lesse of civill than Ecclesiastical tyranny, as
 as *Naples* and *Millane* did a while vehemently
 withstand it, and *Spaine* would with the deereft
 things they have redeeme it; so most of their most
 zealous Catholiks elsewhere which would die per-
 haps if neede should for this Religion, yet abhorre
 the very name & mention of the Inquisition, as be-
 ing the greatest slavery that ever yet the world hath
 tasted. And the *Venetians* themselves could never
 yet be brought to admit it in either sort, than with
 certaine very favourable exceptions for strangers
 (who are generally also in Italy little searched into
 for their consciences, by reason of the gain which
 comes by their repaire, but may passe with enough
 if they give no scandall,) & with retaining the sov-
 eraign sway thereof in their own hands at all times.

But to let this racke of mens soules thus rest, as an invention fitter for the Religion of *Antiochus* and *Domitian*, or for Mahomets Alcoran, than for the clemency of his Gospell who was Prince of mildnes and mercy: It is a wonderfull thing to see what curious order and diligence they use, to suffer nothing to be don or spring up among themselves, which may any way give footing to the Religion which they so much hate. And first for the **Scriptures**; for as much as the Reformation seems grounded upon them, the Reformers having striven to square it out wholly and onely by that rule, as farre forth as their understanding and wits could wade; and for as much as it is a thing which the Roman its deny not, that a great part of their religion hath other foundation, & would seeme in many points to swerue much, yea and plainly to crosse the Scriptures, as an ordinary reader by his meere naturall wit, not fashioned by their distinctions nor directed by their glosses, would expound it: for this cause though heretofore to stop their aduersaries mowthes, alwayes yolping and crying with batefull sounds, that they would not let the poore people heare their Creatours speake to them, that they starved & murdered their soules in ignorance robbing them of the bread of life, the voyce of Christ, and cramming & choaking them with their empty superstitions, their poysoned Idolatry; that the Scriptures would shew the that their worshipping of blind Images was a thing detested, & even with threats prohibited in the Law of God; their praying in unknowne language
and

and by tale plainly reprov'd; their invoking and
vowing to Saints a matter there never heard of;
that their Ceremonies were vanities, their trafficke
for soules very Sacrelege, their miracles delusions,
their Indulgences blasphemies; that it would disco-
ver their Church to be a body strangely infected
and polluted with all foule and peccilent diseases;
and finally that their not erring and not controlla-
ble Lord of Rome was no other than that impe-
rious bewitching Lady of Babylon, though I say
as well to beate backe these like some out-cries of
their adversaries, as also to give some content and
satisfaction to their owne, that they might not think
them so terribly afraid of the Bible, they were con-
tent to let it be translated by some of their favourers
into the vulgar, as also some number of Copies to
bee saleable a while at the beginning, yet since ha-
ving hushed that former clamour, and made better
provision for the establishing of their kingdome,
they have called all vulgar Bibles strictly in a
gaine, (yet the very Psalmes of David which their
famous preacher, Bishop *Parkhurst* translated) as
doubting else the unavoidable necessity of those former
inconveniences, *its some be that doo value it vsu*
To let passe those hard conceits which they
breede in the multitude, as touching the inextric-
able obscurity of the Scripture, the easinesse to
mistake it, the dangerousnesse to erre by it,
having raised in some places such base and blas-
phemous proverbs concerning it, as for my part
I had rather themselves would extinguish them,
than that I list to give them life by recording their
word

in this place. Neyther yet in their very Sermons, though they preach alwayes in a manner on the Gospell of the day, doe they reade or any other waies recite the text; but discourse onely on such points of it as they thinke fittest, without more solemnities; that no sound of Scripture may possesse the peoples; although the use of France bee otherwise for that matter: yea some parts of Scripture, as *Saint Pauls* Epistles, they are so ielous of, and thinke so dangerous, that by report of divers, (for my selfe did not heare it,) some of their Iesuits of late in Italy in solemne sermon, and other their favorites elsewhere in private communication, commending betwene them *Saint Peter* for a worthy Spirit, have censured *Saint Paul* for a hore headed person, who was transported so with his pangs of zeale and engernesse beyond all compasse inundry his disputes, that there was no great reckoning to be made of his assertions; yea he was dangerous to teach a favouring of himselfe in some places, and better he had not written of those matters at all. Agreable to which I have heard other of their Catholikes deliver, that it hath bene heretofore very seriously consulted among them, to have censured by some meanes and reformed the writings of *Saint Paul*: though for my owne part I must professe I can hardly believe this, as being an attempt too too abominable and blasphemous; and for these reasons also too desperate last and all. But howsoever, be of all other is least beholden to them in whom of mine owne knowledge and hearing, some of them teach in Pulpits, not to have

beeie secure of his preaching but by conference with Saint *Peter* and other of the Apostles; nor that hee durst publish his Epistles til they had allowed them. These orders have they taken to avoid danger from the written word: advauncing in steade thereof the amplitude, the sufficiency, and the unfallible certaintie of Gods Oracles and word not written; but delivered to the custody of his holy Church by speech onely: which Church hath now fully also delivered her minde in the late Councell of Trent; whereto all that are solemnely doctored in Italy must subscribe.

And as in the foundation of the Reformation which is the Scripture; so much more in the edifice it selfe the **Doctrine and Opinions**, they beat away all sound and Echo of them: being not lawfull there to alleage them, no nor to glance at them; not to argue and dispute of them, no nor to refute them. In ordinarie communication to talke of matter of religion, is edicious and suspicious: but to enter into any reasoning though but for argument-sake without other scandall, is prohibited and dangerous. Yea it was once my fortune to bee halfe threatned for no other fault than for debating with a Jew and upholding the truth of Christianitie against him: so unlawfull are all disputes of Religion whatsoever. And their Friars even in France in their endeavors to convert others, will say it is lawfull to perswade them, but not so to dispute of them. But in Italy this is much more exactly observed: where in their Divinitie disputations in their Universties or Colledges, (as

some such disputations they have, but very sleight and unfrequent;) I could not perceive that they ever debated any question at this day controverted, otherwise than (as ever) among themselves and betweene their School-men. And which was more strange to me till I sounded the reason, in no place of Italy where ever I came, could I heare any of their Preachers treat of any point in question betweene them and the Protestants, save onely at Padova; where, in respect there are alwayes divers hundreds of strangers of the adverse party, it is otherwise practised; and I weene advised.

But in all other places for ought I could perceive, cyther they mention now no adversaries; or if they doe, which is very seldome, yet do they not unfold their opinions and arguments, but eyther frame other Chimæra's of their owne in steed of them, and so flourish about or two in canvassing their owne shadows; as is usuall in France also; or else dispatch them away with certaine generall reproaches, and then (as I have heard some of them) will formally conclude; but what doe I name Heretickes in an assembly of Catholikes? Howbeit they are not so forgetfull and carelesse of their good crosse neighbours, as this course might seeme at the first blush to import: but those offices they do, they do them to the best purpose; teaching the people sometimes in Pulpit, but much more in private conferences and in their confessions, that the Lutherans and Calvinists are blasphemers of God and all his Saints,

and

& above all other that they despise and vilifie our Lady, saying plainly shee was no better than one of their own wives; that they abolish the Church-Sacraments, the onely meanes of salvation; that where-ever they come, they eyther raze or rob Churches, and make stables of them; that there is no kinde of villany which is not currant among them; that in **England** they have neyther Churches nor forme of Religion, nor serve God any way; that the English Nation since their falling away from the Church is grown so barbarous, that their Souldiers are very Canniballs, and eat yong children. But that above all other places **Geneva** is a very professed Sanctuarie of roguerie, giving harbour to all the runnagates, traitors, rebels, and wicked persons of all other Countries. By which speach very generally in Italy spread and believed, some memorable accidents have at some times happened. Sundry of their priggish and loose Friers, hearing of Geneva to be such an only place of good fellowshippe, and thinking the lewder pranks they playd with their owne ere they came thither, to finde the better welcome at their coming; have robbed their Convents of their **Church plate** and **Repositories**, and brought away the bootie in triumph to Geneva, under the changeable colours of reformed Religion: where their advancement hath beene straight to the Gibet for their labour, a reward much unexpected, and such as caused them to complaine pitifully of their wrong information; For such is the extraordinarie severitie of that Citie,

as

as to punish crimes committed without their State, with no whit lesse rigour than as if they had beene done within it. And not many yeares since it was the lot of a Spanish gallant; who stood upon his state and caried a mint about him, to repaire thither to have stamps made him for the coyning of Pistols. His defence was that hee understood their Cite was freed, and gave receipt to all offenders. It was told him that it was true, that they received all offenders, but withall when they were come, they punished their offences. A distinction which the good Gentleman had never before studied; and the learning of it then cost him no lesse than his head-piece.

And as by these kinde of slanders, so also the more to harden mens minds against them, they will tell of strange miracles that have befallen them. A point wherewith the Pulpits of France also doe ring daily: where in the siege of Paris they were growne to that audaciousnesse, as to perswade the people there, who generally believed it, that the thunder of the Popes excommunications had so blasted the Heretickes, that their faces were grown blacke and ugly as devils, their eyes and lookes ghastly, their breaths noysome and pestilent. Much like to one of the *Servi di Madonna* at *Bologna*; whom I heard in Pulpit among a multitude of moderne miracles; which had fallen out to their punishment who were excommunicated, (the continuing wherein a yeare, without seeking absolution, incurre suspicion of Heresie;) tell this also of an hereticall Gentleman of *Polonia*; who talking at a solemne din-

dinner against the Pope, the bread on his trencher grew blacke as inke, and upon his repenance and conversion returned to his former whitenesse. A thing hapned but lately and reported by the Polish Ambassadour to a Cardinall by the Cardinall to a Bishop, by the Bishop to this Frier: An imitation perhaps of that renowned miracle of eating tables for hunger, threatned by that winged Prophetesse, with like deduction of credit.

*Que Phæbo pater omnipotens, mibi Phæbus Apollo
Prædixit, vobis Furiarum ego maxima pando.*

And these things are in steed of refuting the Protestants Religion: which are not in vaine.

For the vulgar sort, who beleeve, as they say, in God and the Pope, think all to be Gospel that their Friars tell them. And I have heard some conjecture at others to bee Lutherans, onely by reason they were so monstrous blasphemers as they were. But all are not of that stamp: those Gentlemen and other who have travailed abroad: and those also at home that are not passionatly blind, but discret and inquisitive of the truth of all things; howsoever dissenting from them, yet have no such hard conceipt of the Protestants opinions or actions. But the most strange thing as to me it seemed of all other, is that those principall writers who have employed themselves wholly in refuting from point to point the Protestants doctrine & arguments, are so rare in Italy as by ordinary enquiry, I believe not to be found.

The Controversies of Cardinall *Bellarmino* I sought for in Venice in all places. Neither that nor *Gregorio* of Valenza, nor any of such qua-

litie could I ever in any shop of Italy set an eye on: but instead of them an infinite of meere invectives and declamations. Which made me entertain this suspitious coniecture, that it might bee their care that no part of the Protestants positions and allegations should bee knowne they were so exact, as to make discurre in some sort even those very books, which were constrained to recite them, that they might refute them, in such wise as not to suffer them to be commonly salable, but onely to such or in such places as the superiours should think meete. But the truth of this coniecture I leave to farther enquirie.

The conclusion is this: no sound of the reformed Religion, eyther stirring in Italy, or by any humane wit now possible to bee raised. For, to bring in from forraigne places any hereticall writing, though it were without malice, were two yeares streight imprisonment as they say, if he so escaped. So farre ar they from their adversaries, eyther simplicity, if their cause be bad; or honestie if good: who not onely in most of their replies print both together, to give meanes of indifferency in iudging to the reader; but even permit their adversaries yet unanswered disputes to runne currant among them, so they bee in the latine, and not purposely written, as some are, to misdraw the multitude. It remaineth now to restrain the Italians from going abroad to forraigne Countries, where those contagious sounds and sights might infect them. Hercin the nature of the Italian doth suply. who wonders at us Englishmen that come travailing so far thither,
him

himselfe having no humor to stir one foote abroad; and indeed little needing, considering how all Nations of Christendome doe flocke to him. But not so for Merchants, these fly abroad in exceeding abundance to all places, and in wealth where-ever they come over-top all other; such is their skill, their wit, their industrie, their parsimonie. Behold then this Popes late exploit also for that point. He hath by his printed Bull under paine of excommunication forbidden them all repaire for traffike to hereticall Countries: Whereupon some as I heare are retired from England, and other in other places are said to have importuned and obtained some out-Chappell to have their Masse in. Thus hath every gap his bush, each suspicion his prevention.

One thing onely remaineth as a garland to all the rest. It were an hard state and a tyrannicall, where the Superiours should assume to themselves all licence of doing; and not permit to the inferiours at least-wise liberty of speaking: which is but a slender revenge for so great a wrong as ill government; yet such as by giving vent to the boyling fumes of hatred, doth evaporate & aslake that heat, which otherwise would flame out into fury and mischief. For which cause the wisest men have beene alwaies best pleased, that losers should have their words: and they who have endeavoured to bridle mens tongues by sharpe laws, whom they rather should have charmed, and held in tune by their owne integrity, have learned that things violent are feldome permanent, and that the enjoyning of too

much patience makes men breake into madnesse. Yea I have heard men of great experience and judgement say, that the best way to reconcile the Country enmities is to let the good men chide a while heartily together; & their stomacks being once disgorged a peaceable motion will find good audience: so necessarie are these evaporations to the minds of the multitude, which may serve for some iustification of the wisdom of the Papacy in those former free times, when they did, and other said, what each humour advised. But little was it then feared which since hath followed. Little was it imagined, that the time should come, when the world awakened by the cries of a Fryer, should looke about so broadly, and search so narrowly all the plaits and hidden corners of the Papacie, what their doctrine had beene, what their lives, what their scops, and what their practises. Not so many of the consecrated divine Patrons of the Romane state, with thousands of prayers and vows daily adored; nor so many of their enshrined and miracle-working Images, to whom such store of lampes and pure candles were daily burning; so much incense perfumed, so long and toylsome Pilgrimages performed; such abundance of gifts and glad offerings presented; on whom listly so many, so devout, so humble both bowed knees, and hung-downe heads, and beaten breasts, and lift uppe eyes attended; did ever fore-tell so notable a calamity.

It was not then thought that there would arise a generation, who would alleage in good earnest, that

that diuers hundred of yeares since, as also those
 fresh y^e sundry of their owne Authours and fol-
 lowers had in bitter detestation of their owne mon-
 strous abominations described out the Pope for
 the Antichrist fore-propheſied, called Rome
 the Uery Babylon and Temple of Heresies,
 the corrupter of the world, the hate of hea-
 ven, and in effect, the high way and very gate
 of Hell: that the lives of their Prelates, Priests,
 Friars, and Nunnes, not for some particular of-
 fences, which will alwaies befall, but for their ordi-
 nary tenour and courses of conuersation, had beene
 ſo reported by men of their owne Religion, that
 an honest aduerſary can not reade them without
 ſorrow, nor a modeſt without ſhame and bluſhing:
 that the iniquity of their chiefe Sea hath beene ſo
 exorbitant, as to haue raiſed a miſt, themſelves
 this proverbe or ſaying among many other con-
 cerning it, recorded in their owne bookes, that
 the worſt Chriſtians of Italy are the Ro-
 manes, of the Romanes the Priests are
 wickedest, the lewdeſt Priests are pre-
 ferred to bee Cardinals, and the baddeſt
 man among the Cardinals is choſen to bee
 Pope. Neyther was it then fore-ſcene, that the
 world entring into thoſe conſiderations, would
 thinke that they had reaſon which called for a
 Reformation, and that it was not a ſatall ca-
 lamitie of this age, but a ſupernaturall bleſſing
 of God from above, after the kindling of
 many precursorie lights of knowledge, and fur-
 niſhing other instruments to doe ſervice therein,

to direct a meere accident of scandall on their part, namely the indiscreet proclaiming and sale of their pardons; as the wisest and worthiest of their owne Historiographers reporteth it, to the provoking of certaine men of more zeale and courage, than pollicie or skill, in conducting their actions; who without any such premeditated intent, yea and drawne into the lisse, and held in them against their will, by the violent pressing and insulting of their adversaries; having beene forced to sift thoroughly the Romish doctrine and practise, have discovered therein those errors and abuses, which it was high time to bee purged and swept out of the Church: and that the establishing of this Reformation how unperfect soever, to bee done by so weake and simple meanes, yea by casuall and crosse meanes, against the force of so puissant and politicke an adversarie, is that miracle which in these times we are to looke for; wherein it pleaseth God, whose goodnesse all times do speake out; to renowne his high wisdom in guiding this untoward world by ordinarie courses; as in fore-times his power, by admiring therein his often extraordinary wonders. But the Papacie at this day taught by wofull experience, what damage this licence of writing among themselves hath done them; and that their speeches are not only weapons in the hands of their adversaries, but eye-sores & stumbling blockes also to their remaining friends: under shew of **Purging** the world from the infection of all wicked and corrupt **Books** and passages, which are either against Religion or against honestie and good manners; for
which

which two purposes they have their severall officers, who indeede doe blot out much impiousnesse and filth, and therein will deserve both to be commended and imitated, (whereunto the Venetians adde also a third, to let nothing passe that may bee iustly offensive to Princes;) have in truth withall pared and lopt off whatsoever in a manner their watchfull eyes could observe eyther free in disclosing their abuses and corruptions, or sawcie in construing their drifts and practises, or dishonourable to the Clergie, or undutifull to the Papacy. These editions onely authoized, al other are disallowed, called in, consumed; with threats to whomsoever shall presume to keepe them: that no speech, no writing, no evidence of times past, no discourse of things present be, in sum, nothing whatsoever may be thought but holinesse, honour, piety, integrity to the spotted spouse of *christ*, and to his governing Vicar; to the Mistresse of Churches, to the Father of Princes. But as it falleth out now and then, that wisdom and good fortune are to the ruine of them that too much follow them; by drawing men some time, upon a presumption of their wit and cunning in contrivements, and of their good success withall in one attempt, to adventure upon another, for yet more subtile invention, and more diligent execution; which doth breake in the end with the very finenesse it selfe, and overwhelme them with the difficulties which it is to bee thought that their prosperous success in printing and publishing their latter writings, effected with good cost and a very great clamour, as having some reason, and doing

really

really some good ; was it that did breed in them
 an higher conceipt, that it was possible to worke the
 like conclusion in writers of elder times, yea in the
 Fathers themselves, and in all other monuments of
 reverend Antiquity; and the opinion of possibilitie
 redoubling their desire, brought forth in fine those
Indices expurgatorii; whereof I suppose they are
 now not a little ashamed, they having by misfor-
 tune light into their adversaries hands, frō whom
 they desired by all means to conceale them, where
 they remaine as a monument to the iudgement of
 the world of their everlasting reproach & ignomi-
 nie. These purging *Indices* are of divers sorts:
 some worke not above eight hundred yeares up-
 ward : other venture much higher even to the
 prime of the Church: the effect is that for-as-much-
 as there were so many passages in the Fathers and
 other auncient Ecclesiasticall writers, which their
 adversaries producing in averment of their opini-
 ons, they were not able but by tricks and shifts of
 witte to reply to; to ease themselves hence-forth in
 great part of that wit-labour; (a quality indeede
 perhaps more commendable in some other trade,
 than in Divinitie where verity should onely sway,
 where the love of the truh should subject or extin-
 guish wholly all other passions, and the eye of the
 mind fixed attentively upon that object, should dis-
 turne from the regarding of other motives whatso-
 ever :) some assemblies of their Divines, with con-
 sent no doubt of their redoubted Superiours and
 Soveraignes, have delivered expresse order, that in
 the impressions of those Authours which hereafter
 should

should be made, the scandalous places there named should be cleane left out: which perhaps though in this present age would have smally prevailed to the reclaiming of their adversaries, yet would have bin great assurance for the retaining their owne, to whom no other Bookes must have beene granted. Yea and perhaps time & industrie, which eate even thorough marbles, extinguishing or getting into their hands all former editions, and for any new to be set out by their adversaries there is no great feare whose Bookes being discurrent in all Catholike Countries, their want of meanes requisite to utter an impression, would disharten them from the charge: the mouth of antiquity should bee thoroughly shut up frō uttering any syllable or sound against them. Then lastly by adding words where opportunity & pretence might serve, and by drawing in the marginnall notes and glosses of their Friars into the text of the Fathers, as in some of thē they have already very handsomly begun; the mouth of antiquity should be also opened for them. There remained then only the rectifying of S. *Paul*, (whose turne in all likelihood if ever, should be the next,) & other places of Scripture, whose authority being set beneath the Churches already, it were no such great matter to submit it also to her gentle moderate Censures; especially for so good an intent as the weeding out of Heresies and the preserving of the Faith-catholike in her purity and glorie: But above all other the second Commaundement, (as the Protestants, Grecians and Iewes reckon it,) were like to abide it: which already in their vulgar Catechisms

is discarded as words superfluous, or at leastwise as unfit or unnecessary for these times. And then without an Angell sent downe from Heaven, no meanes to controll or gain-say them in any thing. But these are but the dreames perhaps of some overpassionate desires, at least-wise not likely to take place in our times. But what is it which the opinions of the not possibility of erring, of the necessary assistance of Gods Spirit in their Consistories, of authority unlimited, of power both to dispense with Gods Law in this world, and to alter his arrests & judgements in the other, (for thereunto doe their pardons to them in Purgatory extend :) what is it which these so high and so fertill opinions are not able to engender, and do not powerfully enforce to execute: carrying men away head-long with this raging conceit, that whatsoever they do by the Popes they do by Gods own Commandement, whose Lieutenant he is on Earth by a Commission of his owne penning, that is to say, with absolute & unrestrained iurisdiction; that whatsoever they do for advancement of his Sea and Scepter, they doe it for the upholding of the Church of *Christ*, and for the salvation of mens Soules, which out of his obedience doe undoubtedly perish. And verily it seemes no causelesse doubt of feare, that these humours and faces, so forward, so adventurous, to alter and chastise with palpable partiality, the works of former times in an age which hath so many jealous eyes on their fingers, so many mouthes open to publish their shame, such store of Coppies to restore and repaire whatsoever they should presume

sume to maim or deprave: that in former ages, when there were few Coppies, small difficulties, no enemies; as it is found by certaine and irrefragable arguments, that many bastard-writings were forged in their favour, and fathered on honest men who never begat them; So also they might beside other their choppings and changings, puttins in and puttins out, suppress many good and ancient evidences, which they perceived were not greatly for their purpose to bee extant. But of all other in reforming and purifying of authours, the care and diligence of this Pope doth farre exceede: who not content with that which hath bin done in that kind before him, nor thinking things yet so bright as they should be, causeth much to be perused and scoured over a-new: yea and it is thought will cashier some worthy authours, who as yet though with cuttes and gashes holde ranke among them. And for a farther terrour not to retaine books prohibited; I have scene in their printed instructions for Confession, the having or reading bookes forbidden set in ranke amongst the sinnes against the first Commandement. And for farther provision, The Iewes (who have generally not any other trades than frippery and usury, loane of mony and old stufte,) are inhibited in many places the medling any more with books, for feare least through error or desire of lucre they might doe them præjudice. Neither is it lawfull in Italy to carry bookes about from one place to another, without allowance of them from the Inquisitours, or search by their Authorities.

Wherein as I confesse they have neglected nothing, which the wit of man in this kind could possibly devise : so yet may it be doubted, that as too much wiping doth in the end draw blood with it ; and soile more than before ; so this too rigorous cutting of all Authors tongu's, leaving nothing which may savour any freedome of spirit, or give any satisfaction for understanding times past ; may raise such a longing for the right Authors in the mindes of all men, as may encourage the Protestants to reprint them in their first entirenesse, having hope given to vent them although in secret. These have I observed for the complottes and practises of the Roman Church and Papacie, not doubting but they may have many more and much finer than I can dreame of : and yet in the surveying of these altogether, me think they are such and so essentiall in their prooffe, that it causeth me in generality of good desire to wish, that either the cause which they strive to mainteine were better, or their pollicies whereby they mainteine it were not so good.

Now to take a breife view of the **P**resent State of the **P**apacy or rather of some points therein more requisite to be knowne: first to consider it in his owne proper and **P**eculiar **D**ominions, namely in the Signories and Territories which the Pope holds in Italy ; for as for **A**bignon with his **C**ountry **V**eniesine in **F**rance, by reason of the ill neighbourhood of the Protestants of **O**range, it hath yeilded him I weene in these latter times no great matter ; (yea rather it hath beene

an over-charge unto him; for which cause they like well to be under the Pope, as bringing more in to them, than hee taketh from them:) I take it at this day, of the foure great States of Italy, by reason of the accessse to the Dukedome of Ferrara escheted to him of late, to be clearely the third at least, and to surmount the great Dukes, which it hath well-nigh surrounded also. Yea question might be made concerning the second place. For although the Venetians in amplitude of Territory farre, and in greatnesse of reuenue not a little exceed it: Yet beside other difficulties and charges of necessity to which they are more subject; in military force they greatly come short; the Popes men retaining still the brave hearts of their ancestors, and breeding among them plenty of able leaders, (whereof at this present both the great Duke and the Venetians doe serve themselves;) whereas the Lombards, wherein is the flower of the State of Venice are as heavy and unwarlike, as their soile is deepe and fat; insomuch that the Venetians are driven to seeke abroad and especially to the Grisons, from whom they are to have at all times ten thousand at call. But on the contrarie side being to be alleaged, that the Venetians are by sea puissant where the pope can do nothing; I suppose they may still hold the second place of greatnes: the first even in *Italy* without other respect, being incōparable due unto the Spanish mightines. And this in possession. Besids which all *Italy* holding partly of the Pope & partly of the Empire, (save the Sign. of *Venice*, who acknowledge no Lord) of the Pope, the kingdomes

of Naples and Sicily with their dependants, the Dukedomes of Parma and Placentia, and Vrbin, besides other lesse quillerts of these, the Duchie of Vrbin (no great thing, but full of stout men, and of some hundred thousand crownes reuenew,) is in great possibility to devolve to the Church ere long; the Duke being in yeares and without heyres though as now unmarried, by his old wives decease of late; but the Iesuites labour hard that hee so remaine, perswading him that Bigamy is not so acceptable an estate to God. There is also possibilitie of the escheting of Parma and Placentia, there being but the young Duke, (who remaineth still unmarried, being withstood, as is thought, in his long love at Florence, both by Spaine of old, and now by the Pope also, besides the great Dukes not hastinesse to forge his Neeces portion;) and the Cardinall *Farnesi* his Brother, who in that case I beleeve should finde as difficult a suit at Rome for dispensation to marry; as the Duke of Ferrara did before him for a transport of his tenur. Of Naples I can say nothing either of probability. or possibility, as things now stand. Onely it is apparent that the Popes have a very great desire unto it, and opinion of good title also even in present. But the unfortunate successe and fearefull example of Pope *Sixtus Quintus* hath given a fresh stop and great checke both to their desire and title. This *Sixtus Quintus* having of a simple Frier beene advanced to the Papacie by the favour of Spaine onely, which of long he had served; foreseeing very plainly in his changed discourses

courses the inevitable bondage, which together withall *Italy*, the very Apostolike Sea and Lady-Church of the world was in short time to fall into, if the greatnesse of his preferrouer did grow as it began; whose irreligious enchroachment upon the Church-rights, whose tyrannous importuning them to serve his turnes and humours, whose bravadoes, threats, insolencies, and lording over them, his eyes did see dayly and could not remedy; constrained by these eminent daungers and present indignities, adventured to revive and harbour in his mind the afflicted and forsaken thoughts of *Paulus Quartus* his prædecessor, and to embrace a desseigne of chasing the Spaniards out of *Italy*, and especially of recovering the Realme of Naples to the Church, which hath now but a quit rent of foure thousand Crownes out of it, (sent to them upon an Hackney) being one of the richest plots that is in the world. For the effecting of which purpose by inhaunsing his imposts of all commodities after the example of other Princes and States and his neighbours, and by other devises together with good menagemēt, in short time he raysed five Millions of Treasure, a good ground of warre: and moreover after the example of the same *Paulus Quartus*, who brought into very Rome it selfe two thousand *Alman Lutherans* to oppose against the Duke of *Alba*, King *Philips* Generall in *Italy*, yea and was content to endure quietly those abuses and despites which they daily offered to his Images and Sacrament and sundry other devotions, as remaineth in a report

port of credit not to except against ; so that *Sixtus* began covertly to seeke strength from the Protestants, propending more to favour this French Kings labours, yea and desiring to enterteine good correspondence with England also, as was strongly suspected, commending her Majesties government above all Princes in the world. By which meanes and endeavours he drew upon him so great feare and hatred of the Spanish party, and especially of the Iesuits, (from whom also as being too rich for vowes of povertie, he tooke away at one clap above tenne thousand Crownes rent, and bestowed on Saint *Peter* ; as I have heard reported ;) that they styled him a Navarrist, a Schismaticke, and Hæreticke, an Allie of the Devils, yea and protested they would farther proceed against him : and at this day they ordinarily give out in Italy, that the Devill with whom hee had intelligence, came and fetcht him away ; being in truth one of the worthiest Popes this age hath seene, and of a minde most possessed with high and honourable enterprises. But the unprosperous event as I said, of this project for the uniting of Naples againe to the Papacie, and his precipitated ruine who dared to advance it ; having beene poysoned by Spanish practise, as the wisest there say ;) and while my selfe was in Italy, a Priest one of the Popes subjects reported in secret ; that there was lately a supplication put up to his Holinesse by a person unknowne, craving absolution at his hands for making away of a Pope, which was thought could be no other than this *Sixtus*) doth deterre them
that

that come after from embarking themselves in the like, and from imitating his actions whose end they have cause to tremble at.

So Naples remaineth in his view that hath most right to it; but in his hands and armes that is strongest to hold it: And is like so to continue till some stout Pope assisted with greater aydes and opportunities, shall adventure to send backe that Spanish Hackney with a great Herse after him, as the Frier advised: And this for the Popes temporall State: which may yeild him perhaps two millions of yearly renew, by reason of the great increase Ferrara hath brought; and be able to make at home for their own defence some hundred thousand fighting men or thereabout if need were.

Besides what rent arising from the Popes patrimony and state at home, that which he sucketh from ~~foreign parts~~ is not small even at this day; though nothing perhaps in comparison of those former rich times, when money came in daily so flush from all quarters, that their temporall, of which now they make their principall, was then but an accessory additament to their greatnesse. For among many other blowes which *Luther* with his long pen hath given that Sea, it hath compelled them besides the entire losse in countries revolted; even in those which stick to them, to draw more moderately than before, for feare of offending. Yea they have beene driven also in these latter times, to share or yeeld up into the hands of great Princes (of France namely and Spaine,) for the better assuring them, a great part of those Fleets which

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themselves went to sheere from the Clergy heretofore without any such partners. Howbeit in Italy and some other few places, their Annates and tenths do still runne current: besides the Spoglie, as they tearme them, or strippings of Clergie-men at their deaths, (unlesse in their life-time by yeerely pension they list to redeeme them:) and amount no doubt unto a good round some. His gain out of Spaine is thought matchable very neere to that of Italy: which the Kings thereof do and wil more contentedly endure for the better assuring of the Papacie to them: which otherwise were likely to runne mainly with France. I would not report it but that I have it from good place, that *Pius Quintus* under pretences after the Councell of Trent for visiting and reforming of their Clergie with other Papall affaires, was complained of to the Councell of Spaine to have drawne foureteene millions from them out of that Kingdome. What gaine their pardons bring I cannot well estimate; they being not sold now to particular persons after their former usage save in Spaine and those out-appurtenances; where also the late King himselfe was sayd to have the greatest share, and in regard thereof to have enterposed his Regall authority in pressing their sale upon all his people. It is to bee presumed that such a multitude of generall, perpetuall and plenary indulgences, for all times, persons and offences, besides other more limited, as age granted to the greatest part of the Religious houses, & to some other Churches of Italy, and to sundry in France also, yeld somewhat

to the holy-Father in way of thankfull acknowledgement, considering their gaine by them is nothing.

The Cordellere at Dyleans at the publishing of one indulgence, picked up as they say there fourethousand Crownes at a blow. But howsoever the mystrie of that secret stand, this is plaine & appatent, that the Papacy is content to use these Religious houses, as very sponges to drinke what juyce they can from the people, that afterwards he may wring them out one by one in his owne Convents. The Convents have from him these indulgences of grace to remit sins and free soules from the flames of Purgatory; at the anniversary publishing whereof in their Churches; there stands in eminent place the box of devotion; with some poore begging Crucifix lightly before it, and two tapers on each side to see the chinke to put money in. What man can bee so unthankfull, so stony and dry hearted, as to give nothing to them who have forgiven them so much: especially there never wanting some holy pretence to encourage, nor many a deere eye to observe their good doings. Besides this, the Pilgrimages to their miraculous images; (which draw great commoditie to the Cities also and States, wherein the people not ignorant thereof, helpe to set them a working; a consideration that bringeth contentment therewith no lesse to the Princes, so sweet is the taste of gaine from whatsoever:) the visiting of their holy Reliques; both which have their offerings: the purchasing of Masses both auxiliatorie and expiatory: their

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rewards

rewards for praying, their collections for preaching, besides sundry other duties; among which their *Obits*; which are so beneficiall, that their account is from a rich man to draw *Vij & M^d* is some hundred Crownes at his funerall, or else it goes hard. Yea this is so certaine and so good a rent unto them, that if any man of sort should bee buried without their solemnities, and some of their orders to accompany his coarfe; hee should bethought a very Hæreticke, and bee sure to have some odde bruit set abroach concerning him. As fell out not long since to a wealthy Citizen at Lucca: who willing by his Testament to bee buried in the night without their attending, tapering, censuring or singing; had a rumour of him soone spread by the belly-devout Fryers, whom hunger & losse of hope had made wickedly irefull, that hee was haunted and infested with blacke rats on his death-bed. A matter of like truth to the Cordeliers spirit at Orleans. These meanes extraordinary, besides their ordinary renew, increasing often by inheritances descending upon them, which happening to any of their brotherhood goe to the Convent for ever, (such is the Law of Italy;) being granted or permitted by the Pope to the Fryers and all to enrich them; the Law of thankfulness requires, reason and acquy allowes, and their vow of poverty adviseth, that when they grow too rich, his Holinesse should let them blood in their over-full veynes for his owne necessary sustenance, as did *Sixtus Quintus*; who pared away the superfluities of sundry rich Convents,

vents, as fitter for his high State and honourable
 desseines than for the who had poverty in recom-
 mendation. This Pope dealeth more gently by
 way of loanes: which may perhaps in the end come
 all to one reckoning: Besides which, when warre
 against Turkes or Hæretickes, or any other ene-
 mies of the Church, or any other great affaire re-
 quires employment of the Church treasure: there
 are taxes and subsidies imposed or requested to a
 certaine proportion; upon the renew of all Ab-
 beies and other religious Convents in Italy, besides
 the rest of the Clergie, which can be no small mat-
 ter: as was done these last yeeres for the service of
 Hungarie. I might adde hereto the roll of his for-
 reine Commodities, the fees of dispensations,
 cheefely in prohibited degrees for marriage: There
 being few royall families at this day in Christen-
 dome, which by reason of their often alliances
 and nearenesse in blood, are able by his Canons to
 entermarry without his Licence. Which fashion of
 restraining of things lawfull upon shew of vertue,
 that afterwards by dispensing even with unlawfull
 things they may raise their benefit, is the base
 brood of the mixture of hypocrisie and coverous-
 nesse, borne to the common calamity and pressure
 of them, for whose ease and felicitie all govern-
 ment was instituted. But by these and infinite other
 dispensations and expeditions, his Papal Authority
 doth accomodate and is accomodated reciprocally
 of all Nations; the particularities whereof I will not
 farther insist upon, this being sufficient to verifie this
 assertion, that even at this day those out-incomes are

good helps for an extraordinarie good-chare, when neede is. And yet all this notwithstanding, the treasure of Church is small. *Sixtus Quintus* left five Millions by his great racking and husbandrie. His successeur *Gregorie XIII.*th wasted foure of them in ten monethes and lesse, (above his ordinary-renewe,) in pompe and riot. This man is very chary over that one remaining, and distilleth all other devises rather than set finger to that string; which yet his late prowesses have caused him to assaie. But were the Church-rient and ghin how huge soever, two assidual horse-leeches which never lin sucking it, wil never suffer it to swell over-greatly in treasure. The first is the high place of honour which he takes far above all other Princes and Monarchs in the world: which draweth him to an inestimable charge in al places, to carry it with countenance & comelines requisite; being forced thereby in his owne traine, in the entertainment he gives princes; in his allowance to his Legates, Nuntio's and other Ministers, which according to his own greatnesse are sent into all Countries; and lastly in furnishing out to the multitude of his actions and practises over the world; to raise his charge for the most part according to the proportion of his high state. For honour and frugalitie are the unfittest companions that can bee. It is liberalitie and expence which both breeds and maintaines honour. Neyther can a judicall man perhaps wish worse to his enemy than to have an honourable calling and a poore living.

Another thing which keepes the Papacie allwaies

wayes so bare, yea and makes their temporall state the worse governed in Italy, for so it is compted; is in their often change of Popes by reason of their yeeres, the infinite desire each hath to advance his kindred; his Children first if he have any, as *Paulus tertius*, who left his base issue no lesse than Dukes of Placentia and Parma; and *Gregorie* the Xij.th more lately, who made his base some Duke of *Sor* and Castellan of *St. Angello*: and if they have no Children, or list not to be knowne of them, then their Nephewes and other kinsmen which is common to them all. Yea it often fallies out, that those Popes who have not any knowne children of their own; by extending their love larger to a greater multitude of Nephewes, yet desiring for their owne renowne and perpetuating of their Name to raise them to as great State and wealth as they can possibly; doe consume more the goods and treasure of the Church, than those other who have their loves, though stronger, yet to fewer: as was apparent in the two *Gregories* the Xij.th with his few Sonnes, and the Xij.th with the multitude of his Nephewes and kinsmen. And these men being raised often from the bottom of basenesse to the heighth of pride and power; having no hold in their handes nor scantling of their fortunes, as having never beene in the middle estate, which is the measure of both extreames, doe fall into ryot able to rouse any Prince; and rage and ravine in their Offices and governments, as they that knowing their time short, meane to use it

to the full prooffe, the examples whereof are both many and fresh, which for their foulneffe and basenesse I list not to repeat. For which cause it was a good helpe for *Sixtus Quintus* to bee Pope, that hee had small kindred: though that ground is moveable; seeing Pedegrees change for the most part together with mens fortunes; which as a conscionable Arbitratour, neyther annoyes the poore ever with multitude of kinsmen, nor discomforts the rich with paucity.

For the state of the rest of the **Clergy under the Papacy**, it varieth as the Countries. In Spaine the Prælates are exceeding rich in renew: the Archbishoprick of Tolledo not inferiour to some Kingdomes. In Italy the livings of the Prælates are competent; considering the excessive multitude: Yet with so great diversitie, that some meere Bishopricks, are above twenty thousand Crownes rent, and other some under one thousand. But the custome of Italy, which avoydeth yea and blameth multitude of servants and great house-keeping in all sorts and degrees, makes a small matter sufficient, and a great superfluous. Besides, there to have many livings, is a matter of credit, not of profit onely; though as wise men as they, have thought otherwise of it, to bee a private great burthen, and a publike great mischeefe. The Parish Priests in Italy, who have not the tenthes, (which in a Country whose soyle yeelds three harvests in sundry places all in a yeare, would amount to an huge matter, and considering the great rents and exactions would be insupportable,) but have instead of them,

certaine Farmes as Gleabland appropriate, and some certaine quantitie out of the encrease of their neighbours; are so provided for, that the meanest lightly which are their *Curati*, have an hundred Crowns a yeare, and the *Piovani*, which are the Priests of Mother Churches, from two hundred to five hundred, and upward sometimes, which they helpe out with Masses as occasion serves, which are still in Italy as cheape as a groat. In Germany the Prælates are likely great Princes, and great Nobilitie required to have those places. In France the Clergie hath beene in fore-times most flourishing: their revenew amounting, when land and all things were cheapest, to sixe Millions in the whole; besides their great places and authoritie in their State, and their ample jurisdiction in their severall prædicts.

At this day they are fall'n generally; especially the inferiour part, into great miserie and beggerie, accompanied with all base and vile conditions; whereby the Country people is growne also utterly without knowledge of God or sence of Religion; being fall'n into those tearmes that plenty which should make men thankfull, makes them but wanton; and affliction which should make men repentant, makes them desperate; and nothing can better them. The whole Realme in summe hath beene scourged with a three stringed whippe, Warre, Ill-governement, and Injustice particular: whereof the two latter are like to last still, whilst on the one side the places of Iustice are sold as by the Drumme; on the other side the

Church Prælaties and other governments of soules, are made the fees and charges of meere Courtiers and Souldiers, whose merits would have rewardes, but suiting to their quality: which in a Realme so abounding with meanes could not bee wanting but by too much want of indifferency and measure, heaping all upon a few, and most where are least deserts: where as these founfit and ill-suited recompences, distemper that harmony which should bee in a flourishing estate, and overwhelm the Land with all kinde of corruption and confusion.

But to returne to the Papacy, or rather now to the **Pope** himselfe; and first to **His Election**: the right whereof having beene of Old in the Clergy and people, and from thence transferred to the **Emperors nomination**, is now wholly remitted to the **College of Cardinalls**: so that two third parts of their voyces that are present are requisite to him, that either by adoration or in Scrutinie shall winne that glory. Which double proportion of voyces to agree, makes this Election of greater difficulty, and gives occasion of rarer stratagems and devises in it than I suppose are to bee found in any other in the world. I have heard that in these latter times a **Cardinall of Sicily**, whose Holynesse and learning advanced him to that dignity (for of some such alwayes there is care to make choice for divers considerations,) entring the Conclave to an Election, and expecting that by incessant prayer as in times of old some divine inspiration should have pointed out **Christs Vicar**; but finding

finding when hee was there nothing but practising and canvaſing, promiſing and terrifying, banding and combining; ſetting of ſome up for ſtales onely to eaſe paſſage for other, who were reſerved till the laſt caſt, when former hopes and angers being ſpent and evaporated had abated the prime edge and ſtrength of oppoſition; in ſumme being himſelfe alſo aſſaulted by all meanes, yea tugged and haled now by one part now by another, the good man agaſt as in a matter ſo cleane contrary to his fore-framed expectation, *Ad hunc modum* quoth he: *ſunt Pontifices Romani*: and therewithall ſo ſoone as that Conclave was broken, retired to his Country, and would never ſee Rome againe. But the matter of greateſt marke herein at this day is the power of the K. of Spain in ſwaying thoſe Elections: who by penſions, by preferments, by hopes of the higheſt, having aſſured a great third part of the Cardinals to him, and to bee alwayes at his devotion in all elections; whereby having the **Excluſive** as they term it; no Pope can be made but with his liking: hee proceeds on by his Ambaſſadours to name alſo ſome five or ſix unto them, whereof pleaſe they to chooſe any he ſhal reſt well ſatisfied. Which courſe though it mightily diſtaſt the reſt of the Cardinals who are heereby for ever debarred from their chiefe deſire; yea and inwardly much afflict the great States of Italy, who are loath to have their Pope of a **Spaniſh** edition: yet is there no remedy, one of thoſe in fine they needes muſt chooſe, the diſcretion they can have is onely this, to chooſe ſuch of them as is likely to prove leaſt to

his purpose. A memorable example heereof in the election of the last *Gregorie* : where a greater part of the Cardinalls enflamed against the King, and banding against him ; yet in conclusion after two Moneths imprisonment in the Conclau were forced to relent and to choose one of his nominates, or otherwise a cleare case no election at all. Which whether there were or no, made no matter to Spaine : who stood upon the surer ground in his exclusive obstinatenesse; The necessity of the Church, the State of the Papacy, their owne present condition, the disorders of the Citie of Rome and of all their Territories, which in want of a Pope, and in this locking up of the Cardinalls, as it were, into a cellar, did swarme exceedingly, did mainly cry out to have some Pope or other : which at last they yeilded to by consenting upon a favourite, yea and subiect of Spaine also; for such was that *Gregorie*. Howbeit the maine matter runnes not with him so clearely : they being not the same men that are chosen, and that are Popes : but chaunging with their estate both name and nature also. Yea sometimes not easie to finde two diuers men of humour more different, than is the same man in his Cardinalship and in his Papality. Whereof no man better witnesse than *Simus Quintus*, the most crouching humble Cardinall that was ever lodged in an Oven, and the most stout resolute Pope that ever wore Crowne : in his Cardinalship a meere slave and vassall of Spaine, in his Papacy the dangerousst enemy Spaine had in the world : in summe, who

in

in his Cardinalship was scorned as a base Friar,
in his Papacie was redoubted as a Prince of great
worth and spirit.

Neyther is there any mervaille to bee made of
this difference; seeing the hope of obtaining and
of maintaining the Papall honour are so cleane con-
trary: seeing in the one estate they fashion them-
selves to all other mens humours; in the other they
looke that al men should accommodate themselves
to their honours; and lastly seeing those Princes
whose favour is the onely meane to compasse the
place, their power is the onely terror of quel-
ling downe the estate. For which cause as in gene-
rall the Cardinalls doe in their hearts favour
France above Spaine, both as being the wea-
ker part and the farther neighbour, and the onely
hope to mainetaine counterpoise against the others
greatnesse: so let the King of Spaine make what
choyse among them of a Pope hee can, hee shall
find that as long as those reasons continue, who so
ever sits in the seat, will respect more his owne
safety than the service of his prefertour; even as
doth this very Pope, who for that cause is concei-
ved to have made some alteration of inward firme
friendships, though holding in good tearmes of
love and loyalty with both. But this uncer-
tainety and mutability of the new Popes affe-
ctions, doth cause both the King of Spaine and
other Princes of Italy, above all things to ayme
at a man of a calme nature, and not stirring
mettall, that if they cannot make any great
accompt of his friendshipps, yet this naturall

disposition and temper may assure them that hee will not be a raiser of new stirres in Italy; as divers of them to scamble somewhat for their owne have beene: as on the other side an especiall good inducement to the Cardinalls; is his age and sicklinesse, that the place may bee made voyde againe; for the gaining whereof there is alwayes practising and plotting anew immediately upon the Election.

And thus is the Pope made: who hath his **Councell of Cardinalls** to attend and advise him; hee chosen by them, and they created by him: Whose number may amount they say, to **Seventy two**: but many places are kept voyde still to serve for desperate pushes: and of those that are, some twenty lightly are the yonger sons of Dukes and Princes; who in case their auncesters states should descend upon them, with dispensation from the Pope would resigne uppe their Hattes. Among the Cardinales for their owne honour, and for the gratifying of the world, are sorted out and devideed all the orders of Religions, and all the Nations of Christendome; whereof they are appointed the particular protectours in the Court of Rome: as the Protectour of England now is **Cardinall Gaetane**, a stout man, of Spanish faction; who hath beene Legate into France, and more lately into Poland; but is now returned. Among this Councell also, beeing compacted of many Personages of very eminent sufficiency, what for their learning, what for their experience, and

and weighty employments are parted as by way of severall Congregations, according to the use of the severall Counsels in Spaine, all the important affaires, as well standing, as by dayly new occasions arising, of the Church & Papacy, by which meanes they both disburden the Pope of much lighter businesse, and the greater causes by long and exact discussion are ripened and made fit for his decision. Such is the Congregation for propagation of Christian Faith; the Congregation of the Inquisition; the Congregation for England; the Congregation of Bishops; for all Controversies which happen betweene them and their Subjects; a Congregation for any diversity of opinion in matter of Religion between School-men or Friars; with sundry such other. A course lately there begun, but of good importance, and well worthy to be imitated.

Now for **This Pope**, who by race and name a Florentine, but his Father having beene chased thence upon a Conspiracie against Duke *Cassimo*, by birth became a kinde of Romaine; I have little more to say than that which I have before touched. Hee is reputed to bee a man of a good calme disposition, and not too crafty; yet close and suspitious, and thereby secured to hold his owne well enough; kinde to his Friends and devout in his way, and thinkes without doubt that he is in the right. Hee will weepe very often; (some conceive upon a weakenesse and tender-nesse of minde, habituated therein by custome; others say upon piety and godly compassion.) At
his

his Masses, in his Processions, at the fixing up his Iubilees, his eyes are still watering sometimes, streaming with tears; in so much that for weeping hee seemes another *Heraclitus*, to ballance with the last *Gregorie* another *Democritus* for laughing. Touching his secret life, the Italians speake somewhat diversly, especially for his younger years. But mens tongues are alwaies prone to attaine their Governours; and the worst men speake worst, as hoping themselves to lurke under the blemishes of their betters. For my part hearing no extraordinary bad matter against him, but onely by suspition, I judge the best; and howsoever, had rather preserve the credit of an ill man, than staine or impaire it in a good. For his yeeres he doth little exceede Three-score and three: but is troubled with the dropsie, and that caused (some say) or accompanied with a thirsty infirmity.

For a Prælate hee hath good commendation, a favourer of learning; and advancer of them whose Audies have beene to the advancement of his Sea: an enemy to the licentious life of Friers, yea to the pompe also & Secular bravery of Cardinals; howbeit more desiring reformation in both, than daring attempt it in eyther, for ought that yet appeares: very magnificall and ecremoniall in his outward comportement; in his private, austere and humble, as his friendes say; in managing the Church temporall goods rather thrifty than liberall; but of their spirituall treasure of Supererogatory workes in Indulgences and Pardons, (which he useth not only as charitable reliefes of the needie, but as honourable gifts

gifts also to reward Princes that have presented
 him,) in these I should thinke him very exceeding
 wastfull, but that where the treasure is infinite there
 the spender in ordinary account cannot bee Prodi-
 gall. For a Prince he hath been thought somewhat
 defective heretofore, as being neither of deepe re-
 solution, nor of great spirit. But fortunate-men are
 wise, and Conquerours valiant. And surely this
 mans projects and accounts have so well prospered,
 what in reduction of the French King by prosecu-
 ting him to extremitie: what in the matter of Fer-
 rata; what in working the great peace; (the ho-
 nour whereof by the most is wholly attributed to
 the Pope, though other say hee was importuned to
 deale in it by the Spaniard, being so tyred and wa-
 sted out with troubling his neighbours, that in
 fine no desire, no hope but in peace onely,) that it
 hath purchased him the opinion not onely of a for-
 tunate and wise Pope, but of one who doth sincere-
 ly affect the quiet of Christendome, and thinkes no-
 thing remaining to the height of his glory but
 to be the author of an universall league and warre
 against the Turke, against whom hee hath sundry
 times given ayde already. For which end it is con-
 ceived notwithstanding his ability and opportuni-
 ty extraordinarie, what by his excommunicati-
 ons, and what by his ready army, to have righted
 himselfe: that yet he hath laid by his owne particu-
 lar pretences as well against the great Duke of
 Tuscany, for *Borgo di San Sepulchro* which belongs
 to the Church; as also and more principally against
 the Venetians, for *Rovigo* and the *Polesine*,
 v j which

which they have rent by war and retaire from rerara; (not to mention that auncient quirell touching the **Patriarchship of Aquileia**, whose territory even all **Friuli** their State is saide to have usurped:) that no private temporall commoditie of his Church and Sea, might give impediment to the publike most necessary good, in withstanding and repressing the **graund enemy of Christendome**. These thoughts surely are honourable; neyther unnecessary for his owne future safety, considering how neere a neighbour the **Turke** is to him, and how often his State hath beene assisted by him, and sometimes enhazarded. But now for his neere neighbours the great Duke and the Venetians, as their States so their loves and his are but neighbourly: they thinking his growing to bee their stop and endangering. But the Venetians perhaps feare him, and the great Duke hates him more: the Venetians as having still even painted in their great palace and dayly before their eyes, the extremity to which former Popes excommunications have brought them; (having their State as ill seated in regard of potent neighbours, who all gape after them upon any advantage, as any that I know. againe in the world; the Turke confining and bordering with them on the East, the King of Spaine on the West, the Emperour on the North; the Pope on the South;) who can never want pretence, they holding that which they list not yeelde, besides some jealousies and discourtesies passed lately betweene them and the Pope and his Cardinals:

nalls: the great Duke not onely for that hereditarie enmity first, and that personall discourtesie since, at what time affecting the Title of the King of Tuscanie, (whereof his wife is written Queene by some already,) and having got (as is saide) the Emperours liking, the Pope denyed him, putting him off with a distinction, that hee was content hee should bee King in Tuscany; but not King of Tuscany, which scholasticall subtilities plaine suiters doe not love; but much more for that correspondence of Conference and favour which is thought to bee betweene the Pope, and those popular Florentines, who distasted with their home governement once free, now almost servile, live both else where abroad and at Rome in exceeding store; especially seeing not onely this Pope in the faction of his particular family, but all Popes in the affection which the Papacy it selfe doth engender, doe naturally more desire that their neighbours State should bee popular; as having the ground of their greatness in swaying the multitude. But generally the Dukes of Tuscany will bee alwayes regardfull to hold the best correspondence with the Popes that may bee: as having their State more open to assault on that side, the rest being surrounded by the *Apennine* and the Sea. To conclude, this Pope, where there is no private cause of disfavouering his person, or disallowing his place, carrieth the name of a good Pope: and they which do subtilize the points of goodnes more curiously, will say that *Pius Quintus* was a good

Praelate, but no good Prince; that *Sixtus Quintus*, a good Prince, but no good Praelate; *Gregorie* the Xijth a good Praelate, a good Prince, but no good man: this Pope both good Man, good Praelate, and good Prince.

And so I leave him, wishing his daily encrease in all parts of true goodnes: whereof his Church hath too little I ween, and himselfe haply as other good men nothing too-much: and returne now to the papacie.

The next point wherein which commeth to be considered, is what power it is of at this day in the world by reason of those **Nations** which either in whole or great part stil adhere unto it, which are **Italy** with his **Ilands**; **Spain** with his **Iudies**; **Germany** with his **Shirts**; (which I account the seventene Provinces of the Low-countries on one side, the thirteen Cantons of **Swisse** & three leagus of **Grisons** on another, & **Bohemia** with **Moravia** and **Silesia** on a third:) & lastly the great united, well seated, fruitfull, populous Kingdome of **France**, with his neighbours of **Lorraine** and **Savoy**: (whom though Princes of the Empire whensoever themselves list and find it for their profit, yet in regard of their greater affinity to France both in language and fashions, which confociate also affections, I annex unto it:) of all which some briefe view seemes necessarie to bee taken. For as for **Holland** and **Transilvania** with **Wallachia**, and the remaines of **Hungarie**: by reason of their neere and dangerous confiding with the **Great Turke**; together with the multitude of Religions, which

which are swarming in them, in Poland especially, (of which it is saide by way of by-word, that if a man have lost his Religion, let him goe seeke it in Poland, and he shall be sure to find it, or else make account it is vanished out of the world:) there is no great reckoning to be made of their force either way. Then England with the more Northerne Kingdomes, Scotland, Denmarke and Sweden, (whose King notwithstanding is of the Roman faith now, but hath few there that follow him:) they are accounted wholly to have cast off the Papacy. For albeir they make reckoning of many favourers in them as of fourty hundred sure Catholikes in England alone, with foure hundred English Roman Priests to maintaine that *Militia*,) who upon quarrell with the Iesuites, affectors of superiority, and disgracers of all that refuse to depend upon them, have instantly of late demaunded a Bishop of the Pope, to bee chosen by them, and to be resident among them, but are crost in that desire by the countermeine of an Arch-priest; obtruded upon them by the practise of the Iesuites:) yet this is so small a proportion being compared with the whole, as not to be esteemed: especially seeing in Italy accounted wholly theirs, there are full forty thousand professed Protestants that have exercise of their Religion also, in the Valleys of Piemont and Saluzzo, besides sundry Gentlemen in Piemont who live abroad & resort unto them. In Lucca also a great part are thought favourers of the Reformation, and some of that sort there are scattred in all places: especially in the State of Venice. But their paucity and ob-

security shall enclose them in a cipher. So that
 for **Italy** wee will account it wholly to stand
 for the Papacie. True it is that the Princes
 and other free states of Italy little favour the
 Popes enlarging in his temporall dominion at
 home; beeing already of a large size in pro-
 portion with theirs; and especially for those pre-
 tensions which his Sea never wanteth, and those ex-
 traordinary advantages which the concurrence of
 his spirituall Supremacy by interdictions, ex-
 communications, discharging oathes of obedi-
 ence, doth give him above all other Princes
 in the world. Which they also above all o-
 ther men in the world have greatest cause to
 feare; both in regard of the huge multitude
 of Priests, Prælates, and Fryers, wherewith
 hee hath fortified him-selfe exceedingly in all
 other states, and in theirs above all excessively; as
 also for that discontent which their cruell and
 crying extortions and oppressions, by monopo-
 lies and taxes, by impositions upon mens per-
 sons, upon their lands and goods, upon their
 viandes and markets, upon their trades and la-
 bours, upon their successions, upon their marria-
 ges, in summe upon all beneficiall or easefull acti-
 ons, have bred in their owne miserable and con-
 sumed subjects; who wish rather that all Italy
 were reduced into the hands of some one natu-
 rall Potentate, whose greedinesse how great so
 ever they were able to satisfie; and of the Popes
 above all mens, who promiseth some more leni-
 ty by his late example at Ferrara, where hee re-
 mitted

mitted many imposts which their late Dukes had rayſed ; than to bee thus dayly racked , fleyed and devoured , by ſo many pety tyrants as it were with their prolling Gabelliers : whoſe ambitions and emulations , whoſe prides and pleaſures , thirteene mullions of yeerely renew which Italy now yeeldeth them is not able to exſatiate . Howbeit though as I ſaide, for theſe important cauſes , the Princes and States of Italy no way favour the Popes ſtrength in his temporall at home ; (conſidering withall what ſwelling and turbulent ſpirits mount ſometimes into that chaire , who have purpoſely ſet Italy on a flaming fire , that in the ſacking of many themſelves might get ſomewhat , for the advancing of ſuch as nature and blood did cauſe them to love beſt :) yet on the contrary ſide for his ſpiritual power and ſoveraignty abroad , they wiſh it upheld and reſtored if it were poſſible ; both for the honour of their Nation , which iſt hereby the triumphant Queene of the world ; and much more for the commodity which by vicinity they and theirs reape thence in more aboundance than all other together , what by ſharing as occaſion ſerves in his booties abroad , what by being alwaies in ſight to receive favours at home , what by that which neceſſarily ſtickes to them in very paſſing through their territories . Then to exclude any innovation , their owne ſafety and not quiet alone perſwades them , it being dangerous in a body ſo full of diſeaſed and diſcontented humours , to change or ſtirre any thing , ſeeing all alteration

alteration sets humours on working : and one humour on foote quickneth up all other, what allured by sympathy, what by antipathy provoked: the end whereof is either the dissolving of nature by length of conflicts, or the disburdening of nature by expelling that which before opprest it. For this cause no audience to be given to the Reformation, as enemies to their peace, which is the nurse of their riches and sole anchor of their safety. For it were but simplicitie to thinke that conscience and love of truth did sway this diliberation: the world having in most places done Religion that honour, as to remove it out of those secret darke Cabinets of the heart, where the jealousie of some devout dreamers of the gardens of Paradise had imprisoned it, & advanced it, to the fairest sight and shew of the world, even to make a very maske or visard of it with eyes and mouth fairely painted & proportioned to all pretences and purposes. And other of yet more gallant free spirit have given it a generall passe to go whither it selfe list, so it come not neere them. It doth grieve me to speake, yea the thought of it must needs bring horror and detestation, what a multitude of Atheists doe brave it in all places, there most where the Papacy is most in his prime; what renouncers of God, blasphemers of his Son, villanizers of his Saints; and scorers of his service: who thinke it a glorious grace to adore the King of a Country, but to name or thinke reverently of the Creator of the world, to proceed from a timorous very base mindednesse and abjectnesse: of so deepe reach and judgement are these pedlers in

in their proportions, who know no other Magistrates but those of their parishes. These men are favourable alike to all Religions: but can best endure that wherein they are least checkt, and may range with most impunitie. But for the Souldiary of this age; (a profession and exercise in olde time reputed for an only Schoole of vertue, but now infamed with al vice and villany; in old time such, that the wisest Philosopher thought it reason sufficient why the Lacedæmonians were generally more vertuous than other Nations, because they followed the warres more; at this day a cause in all places of cleane contrary effect;) these desperate Atheismes, these Spanish renouncings, and Italian blasphemings have now so prevailed in our Christian Campes, that if any refraine them hee shall be upbraided as no Souldier or gallant-minded man; that the very Turkes have the Christians blaspheming of *Christ* in execration, and will punish their prisoners sorely when through impatience or desperatnes they burst into the; yea the Iewes in their Speculations of the causes of the strange successes of the affaires of the world, assigne the reason of the Turkes prevailing so against the Christians, to bee their blasphemies and blasphemous Oathes, which wound the eares of the very Heavens, and cry to the high throne of Iustice for speedie vengeance. As for great persons and Princes of whom it was said by the Spanish Frier, that few went to Hell, and the reason, because they were few: it is a rare thing and happie where ever it falls out that any of them hath any true and affecting sence of those first

and undoubted grounds of Religion, to what sort or sect soever it propend. Their examples, I speake of many of them, which were able to bee the soveraigne restorers of vertue, and re-establishers of an happy world, with the endlesse blisse of many millions now perishing through their great default; are at this day the only ruine and despaire of goodnesse: having forgotten whose Lieutenants they are in the world, for what ende they are placed, for what cause they are honoured; and most of all what a great account they have to passe at the last Audit, when their favorites and fancy-feeding flatterers shall all shrinke from them, and nothing but their owne deedes and deserts accompany them. But all these whether Atheists in opinion or in conversation, (betweene whom small choyse,) being reckoned or let passe to make up the number: yet hold I that from Italy more wishes than other, helpe to mainetaine the Papacy abroad, by reason of the partition of it into such a multitude of States: where the greater doe nothing but lim-bicke their braines in the Arts of Alchymy and Ballancing; to enrich themselves by the one, drawing gold out of all things; and by the other to peise their neighbours and keepe them of æquall weight, there adding some helpe of their hand where the Scales are lighter: and the lesser States flee most to the protection of the Cheife, as the City of **Genova** and **Lucca**, the Duke of **Urbine**, the Signor of **Piam-bino**, with certaine other, who all recognize the King of Spaine for their Patron; as-casting
by

by him to bee sufficiently secured from the encroachments of those other three; and computing that from him the united consent of all the rest will still preserve them, to whom his greatnesse is fearefull, and his growing would be pernicious. There have been of them also, as the last Duke of **Ferrara**, who have apparantly entertained both amity and straight intelligence with sundry of the Protestant Princes of Germany, on purpose to hold their neighbours, and especially the Pope, in awe of calling the Protestants into their succor, if they should eyther assaile or otherwise provoke them. And thus much for Italy.

The next is **Spaine**, reputed wholly the Popes also; as having beene a long time governed by the most devoted King, and longer curbed in by the most cruell **Inquisition**, that ever the world had for the upholding of that way. Howbeit the state of Spain is not to be passed so lightly over: wherein though my selfe have never beene, yet by manifold enquiry and information from some of their owne, and from others who have been in it, men of knowledge and credit; thus much doe I conceive touching the state of their Religion. That as of a Nation which aimeth so apparently at the **Monarchy** of the whole **West**, it is at this day none of the most puissant to atcheive the same; their Country being so generally exhaust of men, what eaten uppe by long warre, what transplanted into their huge number of Indian Colonyes, that their Cities remaine now wholly peopled,

with women, having some old men among them, and many young children, whereof the grave attends the one, and forraigne service the other, (a fit State for an **Amazonian Empire** to bee revived in:) so likelife for a Kingdome that hath the surname of Catholike, none in greater daunger in the world, eyther wholly or in great part to cast off Christianity; unlesse grace from above and better wisdom do stay the encrease of those pestilent cankers of **Mahometisme** and **Judaisme**, which threaten the finall decay and eating out of **Christianisme**. And to carry this matter with an indifferent course of report, neither aggravating it so much as some doe in their doubt and jealousie, nor yet extenuating it so much as other some in their confidence and iolity, seeing feare casts beyond, and hope short of the very daunger: there is in Spaine a sort of people of the **Marrany** as they terme them, who are baptized **Jews & Moores**, and many of them in secret withall circumcised **Christians**; who are spread over the whole Land, but swarme most in the South parts confining with **Africa**; and are in such store, that in many places as some say, they exceed the true **Christians** by no small proportion. They which say least and speake favourably for the honour of Spaine, will say there are of them an hundred thousand families; in which at the least an hundred thousand men able to beare armes.

All which though conforming themselves in some sort of outward shew unto the **Christian Religion**; yet are thought in heart to be utterly averse from it, and

and to retaine an inward desire to returne to that superstition, from which their auncestors by rigor and terrour were driven. And the Iewes will say in Italy that there come divers Spaniards to them to be circumcised there, and so away to **Constantinople** to plant in the **East**. The State of Spaine is in often feare of these men rebelling, and especially that they would joyne with any enemies that should invade them. For although they are forbidden to have any armes, & yeerely search be made for it over all the Kingdome, in an unknowne and least suspected instant, yet is there no doubt but armed they are, and have their secret caves and devices to conceale them. This sort continually growing by living quietly at home: and the other part decaying daily by forraine employment: what the issue may be, though reason may probably conjecture, yet time only and prooffe can give assurance. That famous and fearefull **Inquisition** of Spaine was instituted first on purpose against these **Mongrell Christians**, some hundred yeeres since: at what time when King *Ferdinand* by chasing the **Jewes, Moores, & Arabians** out of his dominions merited the name of **King Catholik**, great numbers of them choosing rather to make change of their religion in shew, than of their country indeed, consented to receive baptisme: which in secret they soone polluted or renounced by circumcision and other superstitions, wherein the **Arabians** and **Moores** concurred with the **Jewes**; & so continued with a false face and double heart, & have transmitted both the one and the other to

their off-spring to this very day. But this **Inquisition**, being first as I saide brought in to chastise those miscreants ; (besides that in Arragon, a freer State than the rest, being received onely for terme of Eighty yeeres, it is in right long since expired, and holdeth only by title of the Kings pleasure and possession ; and the Portugals also have lately renewed their old suit, together with their old offer of an huge summe of money, to buy out at leastwise the rigour and injustice of it, in their countries and for their persons ; which it is thought this young King hath meaning to accept, if the sweetness of Tyranny, which by Courts of so voluntarie and lawlesse proceeding is principally supported, do give no hinderance : The Eye and edge of it hath beene so wholly of latter times converted to the rooting out of the Reformed Religion in all places, that the other sort by neglecting them have growne in strength, and by their strength now begin to despise their chastisers, whom feare, they say, enforceth often to winke at many things, which no eye open but needs must see. Thus fareth it with gardens, wherein greater care is taken to pul up the suspected herbs than to keep down the apparēt weeds : what farther hopes this Sect may have I know not. This is cleare, that a great part of the Spanish Nobility is mixed at this day with Iewish blood, by marrying of their younger brethren for wealths sake with the Iewes ; upon whom in time, the elder sayling, the honour and house hath descended. But to leave these **Marrañi** : An other pestilent Sect there was not long since of the **Illuminati**
in

in Arragon; whose founders were an hypocriticall crew of their Priests; who affecting in themselves and followers a certaine **Angelicall purity**, sell sodainely to the very counterpoint of justifying bestiality. But these men and their light are quenched some while since. The last and obscurest sort are the poorepersecuted Protestants, against whom all Lawes, all writts all tortures are strongly bent. All which notwithstanding, there are thought to be no fewer than twenty thousand in Sevill it selfe, who in heart are that way. among whom certaine bookes of the Religion being secretly dispersed, the Inquisitours for their number-sake who were to be touched, were required to forbear, and to provide some other way.

In summe, I have heard it acknowledged by some of their owne Country and Religion, that among other things the scandalls of their Clergie and Friers, especially in forging miracles in their Spirits and Images, doe draw the people to a loathing and suspicion of their way: and were it not for the Inquisition, hee thought generally they would fall away & turne Protestants in short time. They have in Spaine as he told me a Crucifix, whose haire and nayles fall a growing now in his old age, as in a dead man executed; the rest not stirring: at which the devouter men of the clergy jerke up their eyes, & the wiser of the Laity wag their heads. That holy **Nun** of **Portugal** of whō the Spaniards take prisoners in **Eighty eight** made so much vaūing; who had the five wounds bleeding on her, and the print of the Crucifix in the skin of her brest; to whō
that

that **Invincible Army** repaired for **Benedicti-**
on to set forward their Victory; is lately deprehen-
 ded & condemned for a Sorceresse, upon a general
 information of the whole Sister-hood against her;
 who hating her for her arrogancy, & watching her
 fingers, in fine discovered that the one was no
 other than a forced rawnesse of the flesh procured
 by setting hearbs and waters when shee meant to
 shew her selfe: and the other came by continuall
 binding of a little graven Crucifix to the part so
 printed. The famous **Lady of Guadalupe**, who
 transporteth thorough the ayre such prisoners in
Africa as vow themselves unto her, is said by some
 other to have her credit empaiied, by occasion of a
 Fugitive servant, who being runne from his Ma-
 ster was suborned by the Friers to play that fleeing
 part, complaining that our Lady for the wicked-
 nesse of this age did restraîne those graces, but yet
 that it was a godly act to maintaine men in their de-
 votions. In fine, he was disclosed and ceased on by
 his Master. But this is more certaine and of more
 generall report, that for the weeping and sweating
 of their Images, they have had a tricke in all places
 to bore holes behind them, and put into them the
 new-cut spriggs of a Vine; which being of a bleed-
 ing nature, and dropping easily thorough the thin
 plaister remaining unpierced, make shew of teares
 or sweat as they list. Yea some of their Italian
 Friers have confessed withall that their fashion is
 when their gimmalls are all in tune for a Miracle,
 to enjoyne some silly old woman, in her confession,
 to say her devotions before the Altar where the
 Image

Image prepared to play a miracle is seated : abusing the weaknesse of her sex and age to report that confidently, which her pronents to think our Lady might extraordinarily love her, made her easily believe. Wise Gentlemen who have beene present at their exorcising of Spirits have observed plaine arguments of intelligence between the parties, as in the actors of an enterlude. Though that this should be alwaies so, were hard to avouch ; the multitude of *Indemoninati* (whereof most are women) being so huge in Italy, (even as of witches in Savoy :) of which some are daily cured in shew, by their exorcismes ; but for one that is holpen almost twenty are either past their Curing, or otherwise (as in counterfeits) unwilling to be cured. But in somme, the falshoods in all these kinds are growne so ordinarie and palpable to themselves, that some of their better Prælates have removed and with-drawne an image of our Lady, upon the broaching of a report that it discovered it selfe for a Wonder-worker. So unfavorie is the foode of fooles to the taste of wise men : and such is Gods curse upon all forgery and falshood, as in the ende to over-throw that which chooseth it for his foundation : as hath hapned already in some places, and may with time in other.

Touching *Germany*, I have seene an old estimate of it by such as favoured the Papacie, that in the beginning of the Empire of *Ferdinand*, there was not past one twelfth part remaining Catholike : which now in my understanding must needs bee otherwise. For comprehending

in **Bohemia** with his appurtenances, I should think that neere a sixt part were devoted that way: their number being encreased, and perhaps doubled since that time, by the Sedulity of many of the Prelates, and one other great Prince the Duke of **Babaria**, who using the advantage of the **Interim** on their part, have forced those Protestants which were in their States to quit eyther Religion or goods or Country. The same hath beene attempted by the **Arch-Dukes** of **Austria**, and in some places as in their Country of **Tirol** &c. &c. But in **Austria** it selfe not so; wherein the number of Protestants exceeds and is fearefull to their opposits: though the exercise of the reformed Religion is there no where allowed, and in some chiefe Cities, as **Vienna** wholly restrained. But the most part of the Country people are of it, so are halfe the Nobility. The **Duke** of **Cleves** a third Prince affected the same way, hath shewed himselfe a little more moderate than some other, so advised by neighbourhood. The **Free Cities**, which are of very great number and strength, have all save some very few, enfreed themselves from the Pope eyther in whole or in their greater part. And thus stands the State of the Empire for that point: containing in it a very huge Circuit of Territorie, full of mighty Princes and well fortified Citties: that if it were more strictly united under one **Monarch**, and not so rent into factions with diversity of Religions, breeding endlesse jealousies, heart-burnings and hatreds, it needed no other helpe to affront the great Turke, and to repulse all his

his forces, to the security of Christendome.

But in this so unequal proportion of adherents to the Papacy, two things there are which give them hope of better, if prosperous successes shall second their well contrived projects. The one is the creating of the Emperours alwaies of their party: whereof they assure themselves by these considerations. First, there is no House in Germany at this day of such greatnesse as is requisite to withstand the Turke in his enchroachments, the **House of Austria** set aside: who by their alliance or rather meere entirenes with Spaine, and by sundrie elective Kingdomes, which runne necessarily upon them, shall bee alwaies able to make head against any power in the world; and by their owne state confining so immediatly with the Turkes, shall be necessarily enforced, laying other thoughts aside to employ the utmost drop of their blood to keepe off. Next whensoever the matter groweth to election of a new Emperour, they shall alwaies have the casting Voyce with them or rather in them; having entangled the **States of Bohemia** in such bonds & promises, (besides there is no other to make good choyse of) that they account of this Kingdom as of a State halfe hereditary. And lastly their late policy, now strengthened by usage, of declaring a **King of Romanes** in the Emperours life-time, whilst his presence and power may governe the action, assures them that it shall alwaies passe with them roundly & quietly. The other ground of their hope, is the division of the Protestants into their factions of **Lutherans** and **Calvinists**

as they stile them : wherein the Ministers on each side have so bestirred themselves, that the Cole which a wise man with a little moisture of his mouth would soone have quenched, they with the wind of theirs have contrariwise so enflamed, that it threatneth a great ruine & calamity of both sides. And though the Princes and heads of the weaker side in those parts, both **Paltgrave** and **Lantsgrave**, have with great judgement and wisdom, to aslake those flames, imposed silence in that point to the Ministers of their party, hoping the charity and discretion of the other sort would have done the like; yet fallies it out otherwise, both the Lutheran Preachers rage as bitterly against them in their Pulpits as ever, and their Princes & people have them in as great detestation, not forbearing to professe openly they will returne to the Papacy, rather than ever admit that **Sacramentary** and **Predestinatory** pestilence; for these two points are the ground of the quarrel, and the latter more scandalous at this day than the former. And some one of their Princes, namely the Administrator of Saxony, is strongly misdoubted to practise with the Emperour for the joyning the Catholike and Lutheran forces in one, and by warre to roote out and extinguish the Calvinists; the plausiblest motion to the Emperour that ever could happen. Neither is there any great doubt, but if any stay or agreement could be taken with the Turke, all Germany were in danger to bee in uprore without selfe by intestine dissension. Howbeit all the Lutherans are not carried with this sterne humour, but they

they only which are called the *Lutherani rigidi*; the greater part perhaps, while are the *mollis Lutherani*, are quiet enough, neither accompt otherwise of Calvinists than of dring brethren; whom the *Rigidi* have (as is said) patly threatned to excommunicate as *Schismatices* and *Hæretiks*. To this lamentable extremity hath the headinesse of their Ministers on both sides brought in; while in the peremptorines of their poore learning they cannot endure any supposed errour in their brethren, whereof themselves, even the best of them perhaps if they were sifted, would be found to be full enough, (such take I to be the condition of al men in this world;) & in their ignorance of al actions save of their schooles & books, make more accompt of some empty il shaped syllogisme, than of the peace of the Church and happinesse of the world: the end whereof will be that their enemies shall laugh, when themselves shal have cause to weepe; unlesse the grationnesse of God stirre up some worthy Princes of renowne and reputation with both the sides, to enterpose their wisdom, industry and authority, for the uniting these factions, or at leastwise for reconciling and composing those differences in some tollerable form a worke of immortall fame and desert, and worthy of none but them of whom this wicked base world is not worthy. But hereof I shall have occasion to speake in his due place. For this place is sufficient that these intrinsecall quarrels are that which maketh their common enemies hold up their heads, which quickneth their hopes to see the blades of these re-

former drawne one against another; that them-
 selves being called into the bearing downe of the
 one part, may after ward in good time assaile also
 the other in the meane season planting in all pla-
 ces their Colleges of Jesuites, as the only cor-
 rosive medicine to fret out their adversaries. Now
 on the other partie the hopes are also not few;
 besides their over-topping them so much in mul-
 titude and power. First the Germane bearing a
 naturall stiffe hate to the Italian for his winding and
 subtil wit, which despiseth and would raniacke
 him, but that hee opposeth a proud stoutnesse and
 intractable obstinacie, which serving alwaies as a
 wall of defence to simplicity, wil hardly what tem-
 pering soever the Princes make, be brought ever in
 heart to re-affect the Papacy, whose sleights and
 devises they are thoroughly acquainted with, and
 have in more detestation than any Nation whatso-
 ever. And for their owne inward dissentions it is
 to bee hoped that though no course were taken to
 compound them, yet never will they bee so mad
 as to decide them by a generall open warre on both
 sides, having Turke, Pope, and Emperour, to
 joynethem in friendship. For although the con-
 tentions of brethren bee bitterest, yet a common
 strong enemie alwaies makes them friends againe.
 And as for the Administratour so much suspected,
 who proles as some say in these practises for his
 owne greatesse, his authority is but short, and
 to expire within three yeeres. Then for the having
 of an Emperour of some more indifferent Family,
 though their desire bee in that point of all other
 greatest

greatest, yet their hope I suppose is least. And that which is, seemes to bee grounded upon the **Electors of Colen**, eyther if the old **Electors Gebardus Truchefius** should live for long, whom in that case they might by force restore to his place; from which he stands now by force ejected, yet retaines his claime still and style of **Electors** or if some other of that sea might be induced to follow the steppes of two of their antecessours, who have turned Protestants; (of which course that place will bee alwayes in danger by reason of such vicinity and intermixing of their State with Protestant Princes, besides that in Colen it selfe the Religion hath already footings,) or at leastwise might bee drawne to that civill indifferency, as in regard of preserving their freedome of Election, to change once in an age that familie of **Austria**, wherein the **Empire** having continued these seven descents may intime bee established as by præscription. And lastly for the Iesuities, their great Patron and planter the old **Duke of Babaria**, having now as is said retired himselfe into their College, and resigned his State to his Sonne **Maximilian**, who it is thought doth disfavoure them as much as his Father doted on them; this and other such changes may give stay to their proceedings. But to leave these hopefull speculations on both sides, and to take matters in tearmes they stand now, and may so continue; the benefit which the Papacy may expect from the **Empire** is rather to keepe matters in that stay they are, than any way to restore it where it hath been dispossessed.

For

For although these Turkish warres should cease, which is not unlikely, considering the calme nature of both the Emperours, who take more delight in Chambers than in Fields: yet shall our Christian Emperour bee enforced still, in fortifying and maintaining garison, al along his frontiers, continuing many hundred long leagues with the Turke, so to exhaust his owne treasure, and employ his people, as that he wil not be able to do else-where any extraordinary matter, without helpe extraordinary; which is never too readie. And time which may produce many accidents in his favour, may also produce in his disfavours as many; and so many more, as the ground out of which in those parts they may grow, is manifoldly larger against him than for him.

Now for the **Low-Countries**; the Papacy hath two thirds with it; and of the **Swissers** and **Grisons**, two thirds against it: of the **Swissers** also the Protestants are lightly the wealthier, & the Papists the more war-like; which may suffice for those parts.

Of **France**, how much the berter it is knowne unto us at home, so much the lesse shall I neede to speake much in this place. Neither is it very easie to proportion the parties, by reason they of the religion are so scattered in all places. Yet in **Boictou** they have almost all; in **Gascoigne** an halfe; in **Languedoc**, **Normandy**, & other West-maritime Provinces, a reasonable strong part; as likewise in sundrie mediterranean, of which **Delinat** the cheife. But whatsoever be the proportion of their
number

number to their opposites, which is manifoldly inferior, not one to twenty; their strength is such as the warres have witnessed; and especially that at this day, after such massacring thins so generall a rising of the whole Realme against them, by the utmost extremity of fire and sword to exterminate them; they are esteemed to bee stronger than at any time heretofore; in summe so strong that neyther have their aduersaries, I trow, any great hope, and themselves no feare to bee borne downe by warre. That the practise of peace by partiality and injustice in their suits litigious, (which hath already sorely bitten and afflicted their estates; by depriving them of place of Office and Honour in the Realme, by confining the exercise of their Religion into chambers or remote corners; did not impoverish, abase, and dishearten their party, and so withdraw those from them, which would otherwise stick to them; this is that which they have misdoubted, and which by the ~~Edict~~ now passed and verified they have sought to remedy. But looking a little more attentively into this party, I find, that as conscience in what Religion soever, doth even in the mists of error breed an honestnesse of minde, and integrity of life and actions, in whom it setteth, (of so divine and pure vertue is the love of the Creatour, which is the ground of all that merit the name of Religious:) so also that in them which affect the greatest singlenesse, and in a manner a very careless simplicity in their Religion, as contenting themselves with the possession of the rich treasure of truth, and for the preserving

of it or themselves; recommending those cares to God onely; yet tract of affliction, much misery, often over-reaching by subtilty of adversaries, doth finally purge out those grosse-witted humours, and engender a very curious and advantageous wariall in all their proceedings; having learned by experience the wisdom of that Aphorisme, that a smaller gourd in the foundation and beginning of all things, doth prove in the proceeding and ende of them a great mischief. As hath fallen out in these men: who doe as farre here out-goe their opposites in all civill pollicies; as in other places they of their Religion are lightly out-gone by them. Which next unto divine blessing, which accompanieth good causes, where wickednesse or wilfull witlessnesse doth not barre against it; I account the chiefe reason of their present strength and assurance. By their providence in their capitulations, by their resolutenesse in their executions, by their industry and dexterity in all occasions presented, they have possessed themselves of an exceeding great number of strong Townes and places: there is scant any office or estate can fall voyd; but they lay in by all meanes to get into it; they have their Synodes for their Church-affaires, their Conventions and Councells for their Civill: their people is warlike and so will they continue them. Their onely want is of a Prince of the Bloud to grace them. For as for leaders, a matter of so maine importance; they are still above their adversaries: having besides those three of principall and knowne name, sundry other in Gascoigny of lesse place & degree,

degree, but in skill and prowesse not inferiour to the best. In fine, they have learned the wisdom of *Spes sibi quisque*, and *μὴ ἑαυτὸν ἀμείνῃ*; the contrary whereof before brought them so neere to their ruine. But now touching the weakenesse of them of the Romane Religion, in comparifon of that strength which their multitude should promise, much more may bee saide. First, one great part of them are in heart of the Reformed Religion, though for worldly respects they hold in with the other: which also will begin to disclose themselves daily, those things being now settled in reasonable good sort, which have hitherto bene but in motion. Secondly they are not all Papists that hold with the Masse. But the Catholics are here divided into as different opinions, and in as principall matters of their Religion as they esteeme them, as the Protestants in any place that ever I heard of: although their discretion and moderation is such as not to interrupt the common Concord with private opinionative esse. The ground of which disagreement in opinion (as I take it) is the ancient diversity betweene the **Romane Church** and the **Gallicane**; which as in many of their Ceremonies it differs much from the Romane, (as to omit sundry other in the **Priests Motions at Masse**, and in their walking hymns at solemne **Matins**, and **Vespers**;) and in some of them rather runnes with the usage of the Greeke Church, (as in their **Holy bread** on **Sundayes** for them that doe not communicate:)

so also in the very head point of their Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, it holdeth the **Generall Council** to bee above the Pope; which opinion is at this day very current and strong, even among such Catholics as favour the Papacy. Which I reckon for the first difference touching the State of their Church: which calleth into question in whom the very sovereignty and supremacie thereof is placed. Another sort are there which hold their Church for the true Church, (although they acknowledge sundry errors and abuses of lesse importance both in doctrine and practise;) but for the Pope they hold resolutely that hee is that **Antichrist**, which sitteth in the **Temple**, that is in the true Church of **God**, (for even by his very being **Antichrist** some prove they are the true Church;) doth advance himselfe above God; as they thinke apparently by dispensing with the Law of God: by merchandizing of soules in his Purgatory pardons, releasing them in an other world whom divine sentence hath bound; as also by his indulgences for sinnes in this world; and not least of all by his arrogating the not possibilitie of erring, being a sacred properrie peculiar unto God, and not communicated but onely at times to his extraordinary Prophets, as all Churches in the world besides the Roman acknowledge. This sect spreads farre, and as themselves will say, of the learned sort three parts of foure consent in this opinion. And they which are most devoted to the Pope, and in that respect doe hate this crew above all other, confesse that

that the Lawiers are greatly infected with it : in which regard they also rearme these as in way of disgrace, the **Parliament Catholikes**. These opinions thus prevayling amongst the Catholikes of France, it is not to bee marvelled, that the Realme was so ready upon the Popes refusall to reblesse the King upon his sodaine reconversion, to withdraw themselves utterly from the obedience of his sea, and to erect a new **Patriarch** over all the French Church, the now **Archbishop of Burges**; who was ready to accept it : and but that the Pope in feare thereof, upon a second deliberation did hasten his Benediction, it had beene effected to his utter disgrace and decay, as the very proffer and probability of it will alwaies hold him in awe, & in good temper of cariage towards this wavering kingdom, and content to beare indifferent sway with them in any thing. As on the contrary side his great doubt of the French unsoundnesse to him at the heart, will cause him the lesse to favor any of their footings in Italy. Now these men though they dislike also of the Reformed Religion, as having brought in an extreame janovation of all things, instead of a moderate reformation of what was justly blameable: yet will carry themselves alwaies of likelihood in an indifferent neutrality, rather than by extinguishing the one extreame, to over-strengthen the other. A third part of this side wee may make the **Royalists**; who as much as they dislike the attempts of the Protestants in alteration of Religion; so much and more doe they hate those mischievous

courses taken against them by their adversaries ;
 which have threatned so neere a ruine to the whole
 state of the Kingdome, that it may seeme halfe a mi-
 racle, that it hath ever recovered ; being so long a
 time at the very point either of shivering in pieces,
 (as hath happined heretefore to other Countries in
 like case,) or of rendring it selfe into the servitude
 of the hatefull name of their neighbours. This part
 having by experience learned the wisdom to know
 that the quarrell of Religion is but the cloke of am-
 bition for the great ones at this day ; that many
 traiterous intents passe under Catholike pretences ;
 that the Protestant will be alwaies a sure enemy to
 the Spaniards, and to all his Favorites, partizans, &
 pensionaries ; that whilst hee may be suffered to en-
 joy liberty of Conscience, without any disabling or
 disgrace in the State, he will be in all occasions rea-
 dy to serve the King to his utmost, and forward
 by deserts to maintaine his favour ; that it is not so
 easie a matter to extirpate them as some thinke, ha-
 ving taken so deepe root in the Realme as they have,
 besides the favour of great Princes their neighbours
 abroad ; who are engaged and embarked in the very
 same cause ; and that although it were to be wished
 for the happinesse of the Kingdome, which during
 this diversity and dissention in Religion, shall breed
 greater security to their neighbours than to them-
 selves, that if it were possible some course were take
 for a finall reuniting of all in one profession ; yet this
 being not to be hoped for in this exasperation of
 mindes on both sides, must be commended to time,
 which

which workes out many things ; to occasion, which effects even wonders on a sodaine ; and finally to some generall good way to bee undertaken by the ioynt consents of wise & worthy Princes, for effecting like unity over all Christendome if it may bee. In these considerations, this party which with his appurtenances is now the greatest, will never advise the King to become head of a party againe, so long as hee may bee absolute Commander of the whole : having found that siding course in such strength of both parts to be a false ground and ruinous to them that take it. To these may be annexed those morall men, as they call them, who thinke not these diversities of opinions of any such moment, as that they ought to dis-ioyne them who in the love of God, in the beliefe of the fundamentall Articles of Christian Faith, in integrity of life and honesty of conversation, (which are the greatest bonds,) remaine united, much lesse that they ought to enrage mens minds so farre, as to cause them to take Armes to decide the quarrell, which are not those instruments wherwith either error should be razed, or truth proved, or Religion planted. And finally to this party may be added all those who affect a quiet world & peace above glorious troubles : which is the desire of those lightly, who in a middle degree of cōdition: possesse also a moderate temper of affections ; which is ordinarily the greatest part in all wel ordred common wealths ; and withall the farre surest and firmest to the state. None of those wil be easily drawn to enter into any violent course against those of the Religion,

Religion, so long as they have the discretion by no jealousie to provoke them. The last part is indeed of their vowed & sworn enemies, the **Leaguers** and **Zeles**, as some name them; once the greatest and most favoured part of the Realme, at this day not so; their plausible pretences being now dismasked, and the disastrous successe of their disordred actions, which hath brought things to the very counterpoint of that they aymed, and left nothing but a memory of much trouble and misery, of the wasting of the people, the sacking of Cities, the harrowing and desolating of the Country, together with the imminent danger of this stater overthrow of the Realme for ever, making them hatefull and despised in those very same mindes, wherein they were erstwhiles enshrined with all devotion, which reasons have so abated also the hartinesse of their hopelesse heads, who lately breathed nothing but **Crownes & Scepters**, but glory to their followers, but vengeance to their enemies: that now they are content to raunge with their fellows, and have turned their song of soveraignty into a more peaceable and calme tune of *nec veterum memini latiorum malorum*. Howbeit the right **Zeles**, men of the basest sort lightly, and possessed with Friers, who fill them with very furies against the Religion, are as malicious and ragefull against the Protestants as ever; and thirst after nothing so much as to embrew themselves once againe in their blood; they sticke not to professe, & indeed would, had they heads and opportunities to accomplish. The number of these

is exceeding great and desperate; but impuissant, base and broken. With these joyned in heart in a manner all the Clergie; who count the Religion and Reformation their bane, and the very calamity of their estate for ever. A great error among other, as was observed by the worthy Chancellour Monsieur DE L'HOSPITAL, in the plots and proceedings of the first Protestants of France, to alienate so respected and so potent a part of the Realm, by leaving them no hope of any tollerable condition under their reformed estate; whom, by following the wiser courses of their moderate neighbours, they might have gained to them in greatest part as others did.

Now this part which are the openly assured enemies of the Protestants, and of whom they may make accompt, that they will not faile them at a need, doth come short of them perhaps in strength, though in multitude sairs exceed them. Wherein this is also not to be left unconsidered, that as in the body of man the humors draw still to the fore; so in a state all averse and discontented doe associate themselves lightly to the part grieved and persecuted.

This take I to be the present estate of the factions in France for matter of Religion: submitting my opinion, as in all other things, to be considered and informed by whose better wish, more experience, and deeper judgement shall be considered, and weighed these reasons and considerations. But to make my faith, rather of conscience, for

the time to come, that will I not be so sawcy as to doe in French affaires; whose mines are so full of Quicksilver that their nimble wits would take it perhaps in dudgeon, that any should imagine they would plod on in any one tenour, with that dull constancy which their heavier mettald neighbours doe use; being able even in freshest experience to boast, that their lightnesse of spirit, and mutability of resolutions, hath sodainly reeovered them from those termes of extremity, which in the hands of any constant Nation of the world, had been a very long cure, if not desperate and curelesse. But verily this diversity and dissention in Religion, is still a very great weakenesse and disease in their State, and such as will be alwayes a matter of jelousie among themselves, of assurance for their neighbours, of joy to their enemies.

For Lorain, and Saboy, with the Vallesi who confine on Savoy, they runne wholly with the stream of the Papacie: though in both parts there are store of Protestants, and that of men of the better sort, but without any publike exercise of their Religion; save onely in some few out-skirts of Savoy neere Berna and Geneva. What Madam the Kings sister may affect in Loraine, or what contrariwise her selfe may suffer, time onely by triall is able to ascerne.

These particulars thus adjoined, it will be no great difficultie to make some comparative Estimate of the whole strength of the Papacy, in respect of the Protestants, being the part now onely

ly on foot against them. For as for the Greeke Church, the case is evident, that though in number it be granted that they exceed any other; yet are they so oppressed under Turkish tyranny, or removed so farre off, as the Muscovites and some others, that they come not into any accompt in the survey of the strength which we now speake of.

But for the Westerne or Latine Church, in the generall division into the part Reformed and part Papall, admitting them in number and circuit of Territory to be neere æquall, (as considering the huge compasse of Germany and that Empire possessed so wholly in a manner by the Protestants, I can make no other proportion:) in other points wee shall finde great oddes and advantages for strength in different kindes in both sides. First, the Kingdomes and States of the Romish part, lying neerer the Sunne, are not onely in riches, both naturall of their soyle, and accessory by greater opportunity to traffike to all parts of the World, by manifold degrees superiour to their Northren adversaries, but also in finenesse and subtilty of wit; which having that other instrument of wealth to worke by, doth farre passe in all ordinary and orderly actions, that robustnesse of body, and puissance of person, which is the onely fruit of strength that those colder climes do yeeld. Though some times extraordinarily it is knowne and to bee graunted, that those septentrionall inundations, by their very violence and multitude, as in people more generative, have so wildly deluviated over

all the South; that as a raging tempest they have ravaged and ruined those powerfull and flourishing Empires in the sodainnesse of an instant, which had beene many ages in rearing and spreading over the world.

But these have beene no other than as torrents or brookes of passage; soone up, soone downe; soone come, soone over-gone. Neither have the Northern people ever yet for all their multitude and strength, had the honour of being founders or possessours of any great Empire, so unequal is the combate betweene force and wit, in all matters of durable and grounded establishment. Another point of great advantage in the selfe-same side is the uniting of their forces into fewer heads and mightier: which uniting is a very redoubling of strength in all things. They have on their part first and principally the Pope himselte, seated royally and pontifically in the midst and cheifest, regarding the rich Sunne in his gloriuous rising, and the Moone in the heighth of her beautifull walke: on his left hand, the Emperour, the ancient remaines of honour: on his right, the King of Spaine, the new planet of the West; at his backe, the French King, the eldest Sonne of the Church: all mighty Monarchs, opposed as brazen Walls against his enemies on all sides: round about him are the lesser Princes and States of Italy, as matter rather of solace and honour than otherwise, and to exercise him selfe upon, as his humours of favour or displeasure shall advise. Whereas on the contrary part, the onely puissant Prince in any com-

comparison with those other, is **Her Maiesty of England**: whose State is yet so divided from all the rest of the world, that it is the lesse fit in that respect for the rest to make head at. Againe, the other have the Pope, as a Common Father, advizer, and conductor to them all; to reconcile their enmities, to appease their displeasures, to decide their differences, and finally to unite their endeavours in one course, to instance, to presse them, to remove stops, to adde encouragement, by ayd from himselfe; and above all things to draw their religion by consent of Counsell to anunity or likenesse and conformity in all places; a principall pillar of stay to the unlearned multitude, of glory to themselves, of upbraiding to their enemies. Whereas on the contrary side, the Protestants are as severed or rather scattered troupes, each drawing a divers way; without any meanes to pacifie their quarrels, to take up their Controversies, without any bond to knit them, their forces or courses in one. No Prince with any præminence of jurisdiction above the rest: no Patriarch one or more to have a common superintendence and care of their Churches, to bee sollicitours of Princes for correspondence and unity: no ordinary way to assemble a generall Council of their part, the onely hope remaining ever to assuage their contentions, and the onely desire of the wisest and best minds among them. Every Church almost of theirs hath his severall forme and frame and government; his severall Liturgie and fashion of service; and lastly, some severall opinion

from the rest; which though bee in them selves matters of no great moment, beeing no differences essentiall or in any capitall point; yea and some of them might serve perhaps to the Churches great benefit: yet have they beene, are, and will be, so long as they continue in their present tearmes, causes of dislikes, of jealousies, of quarrels and dangers. In summe, what unity soever is among them, proceeds onely from the meere force and vertue of verity; which all parts seeke for: which though it be incomparably the best and blesseddest, and that which alone doth unite the soule with God; yet for order in the world, for quiet in the Church, for avoyding of scandall, for propagating and encrease, of what great power that other unity is which proceedes from authority, the Papacie which stands by it alone, may teach us: in fine, both concurring attaine the prayse of perfection. These then are the advantages of the part of the Papacie. But now one disadvantage (such is the nature of all things) impeacheth and dejecteth all other their forces; and that is, their vicinity with their graund-Enemy the Turke; who by Land and Sea presseth hard upon them, both Emperour, and Pope, and Monarch of Spaine; and driveth them oftentimes to such extasies and devises, that Spaine hath no other shift to cleare himselfe than by diverting him upon his owne deere brethren of Austria, and causing him to fall foule upon his friend the Emperour; wherein hee is driven yet to a two-fold charge, both in bribing
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the Bassa's to draw their Lord to Germany, and in supplying then the Emperour with money to withstand him. The Emperour on the other side calleth for ayde of the Protestants, without which the whole Empire were indaunger of wracking. The Pope, who above all other is in deepest feare, though not in the neereſt; knowing that the ſinall marke which the Turke ſhootes at is Italy, as thinking that to bee the lover now onely remaining to bee ſet up for the accompliſhment and perfection of his Empire; and that his Warres with the Emperour are but to open that Land-paſſage, for as much as by ſea hee hath ever proved the weaker: beſtirres him ſelfe on all hands, in the beſt ſort hee is able, both in ſending ſuch ayde as his proportion will beare, and eſpecially in ſoliciting the Princes of his part to enter into a common League and warre againſt him; giving overture of like deſire for the Proteſtants alſo. But the Proteſtants would know what ſecurity of quiet they ſhall have from him ſelfe firſt, their neere and ſterne and unappeaſeable enemy; before they waſt out them ſelves in giving ayde unto him, againſt a common enemy indeed, but one who is fartheſt off from them of all other, who as now is deſirous enough to entertaine their frienſhip, and who at the worſt hand carrieth no more evill hatred againſt them and their profeſſion, neyther condemneth their Religion more than the Pope their fellow-Chriſtian.

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Then for his Catholikes the Polakers, they clearly slip collar; both for the naturall hatred which as neighbours they beare the Germans; and for that they are in peace and amity with the Turke, paying him a certaine tribute; and although his neere neighbours also, yet not in his way; which is not to the North, but to the Sunne and South parts, and mainly and plainly to the conquests of Italy. The Venetians are content also to live rather as free tributaries to the Turke as they now are, than as slaves to Spaine; who in joyning with them heretofore in leagues against the Turke with Pope PRIUS QUINTUS, did contrary to his oath and bond forsake them, and suffer them to be beaten being left alone to the Turkes fury; and all this to the end that having their state utterly maymed and broken by the Turke, they might be constrained wholly to cast themselves, their Signory and Citie into the armes and embracements of Spaine for safeguard. With this unchristian treachery have they charged him heretofore; though now all being quiet, they are content to put an un-acceptable motion to silence, by demand of impossible conditions of security.

Then for France it is farre off, and lookes that the neerer bee as they ought most forward first, and requires also with reason some breathing time to receive himself, after his wearines by his late pangs. Lastly, Spaine hath so much to doe with England and the revolted Provinces, that hee thinks the time gained that the Turke forbears him. So that the
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end, is, the whole burthen must rest on the Emperour, with that small helpe which Italy and some other yeild him. And were it not his good fortune or rather Gods good providence, that the very same plagues, which have ruined the glory and grace of Christendome, should now also infect the ground-Enemy therof, namely, *Effeminate nesse* and *Avarice*; whereof the one is the corruption of all sound deliberations, and the other the quailer of all manly executions; which prevailing in his state as they doe at this day, give hope that his tyranny draweth towards his period: and for this present provide so, that a weake defendant may shift better having but a cowardly assailant: the matter would have growne to that extremity by this time, as would have called the King of Spaine with all his forces to some more honourable enterprises than hee hath hither to undertaken. And this is the bridle which holds in the Papacie with all his followers, from any universall proceeding by force against the Protestants: who hearing are greatly advantaged above them, in that eyther their opposites lye betweene them and the Turke, or their Countries casting so much as they doe towards the North are out of his way; and no part of his present ayme. But these advantages and disadvantages of the Papacie equally weighed, I suppose this disadvantage more mischievous for the present, as proceeding from outward force in the hands of an enemy; and the other advantages more stable for continuance, as springing from the inward strength of their

owne wealth and order.

This then being so, and that all things considered, there falls out if not such an indifferencie and æquality, yet at leastwise such a proportion of strength on both sides, as bereaveth the other of hope ever by warre to subdue them; (seeing as the Proverbe is, a dead woman will have foure to carry her forth, much lesse will able men bee beaten easily out of their homes,) and since there is no appearance of ever forcing an Vnity, unlesse Time which eates all things, should bring in great alterations: it remaineth to bee considered, ~~what~~ **what** other kinde of **Vnity** poore **Christendome** may **hope for**, whether Vnity of Verity, or Vnity of Charity, or Vnity of Perswasion, or Vnity of Authority; or Vnity of Necessity; there beeing so many other kinds and causes of concord. A kind of men there is whom a man shall meet withall in all Countrys, not many in number, but sundry of them of singular learning and piety; whose godly longings to see Christendome reunited in the love of the Author of their name above all things, and next in brotherly correspondence and amity, as becometh those who under the chiefe service of one Lord, in profession of one ground and foundation of faith, doe expect the same finall reward of glory, which proceeding from the Father and Prince of peace, rejecteth all spirits of contention from attaining it; have entred into a meditation whether it were not possible, that by the travaile and mediation of some calmer minds
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than at this day doe usually write or deale on eyther side, these flames of controversies might bee extinguished or aslaked, and some godly or tolerable peace re-established in the Church againe. The earnestnesse of their vertuous desires to see it so, hath bred in them an opinion of possibility that it might be wrought; considering first that besides infinite other points not controverted, there is an agreement in the generall foundation of Religion, in those Articles which the twelve Apostles delivered unto the Church, perhaps not as an abridgement onely of the Faith, but as a touch-stone also of the faithfull for ever: that whilest there was an entire consent in them, no dissent in other opinions onely should breake peace and communion: and secondly, considering also there are in great multitude on both sides, (for so are they undoubtedly) men vertuous and learned, fraught with the love of God and of his truth above all things, men of memorable integrity of heart & affections, whose lives are not deare unto the, much lesse their labors, to be spent for the good of Gods Church & people; by whose joynt-endavors and single and sincere proceedings in common conference for search of truth, that honorable Vnity of Verity might be established. But if the multitude of crooked and side respects, w^{ch} are the only clouds that eclipse the truth from shining now brightly on the face of the world, & the only prickles that so en-froward mens affections as not to consider the best, do cause that this chiefe Vnity find small acceptatio,

as is to bee feared, at least-wise that the endlesse and ill fruits of these contentions; which tend mainly to the encrease of Atheisme within, of Mahometisme abroad; which in obstinate the Few, shake the faith of the Christian; taint the better minds with acerbity, and load the worse with poyson, which breake so out into their actions which them selves thinke holiest, namely, the defence of Gods truth which each side challengeth, that in thinking they offer up a pleasing sacrifice to God, they gives cause of wicked joy unto his and their enemy; that these wofull effects, with very rediouse and wearinesse may draw both parts in fine to some tollerable reconciliation, to some **Unity of Charite**, at leastwise to some such as may be least to eythers preiudice. Let the one give over their worshipping of Images, their adoring and offering supplications to Saints, their offensive Ceremonies, their arbitrary Indulgences, their using of a language not understood in their devotions; all which them selves will confesse not to be necessary, to bee orders of the Church, and such as at pleasure she may dispence with; yea, Pope CLEMENT the vii th, gave some hope to the French King that he would not be stiffe in things of this quality, and that respect of time might justifie the alteration; and some of the later Popes condescend to them of **Babaria** the Cup in the Sacrament, hoping that would content them, which since they or their successours have againe inhibited; On the other side, let the Protestants,

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such at leastwise as thinke to purge out that negative and contradictory humour, of thinking they are then rightest, when they are unlikest the Papacie; then neereſt to God when fartheſt from Rome; let them looke with the Eye of Charity upon them as well as of ſeverity, and they ſhall finde in them ſome excellent orders for government, ſome ſingular helps for an encrease of godlineſſe and devotion, for the conquering of ſinne, for the perfecting of vertue; And contrariwiſe in themſelves looking with a more ſingle and leſſe indulgent Eye than they doe, they ſhall finde that there is no ſuch absolute or unreproueable perfection in their doctrine and Reformation, as ſome dreamers in the pleaſing view of their owne actions doe fancy. Neyther ought they to thinke it ſtraunge, they ſhould bee amiſſe in any thing; but rather a very miracle, if they were not ſo in many. For if thoſe auncient Fathers and Sages of the Church, with greater helps, beeing neerer the times of purity; with æquall, induſtry, ſo ſpending their whole lives with leſſe cauſe of unſincerity, having nothing to ſeducer them; notwithstanding were not able in the weakenefſe and blindneſſe of humane nature in this world, to ſore up ſo high alwayes in the ſearch of truth, as to finde out her right ſeat in the heighth of the Heavens; but ſome times tooke Error dwelling neerer them in ſteed thereof; how leſſe likely that our age, more entangled with the world; farther removed from the uſage of thoſe faultleſſe inſtitutions, and ſo bitterly exasperated

with mutuall controversies and conflicts, should attaine to that excellency and perfection of knowledge; which it may be, God hath removed from mans reach in this world, to humble and encrease his longing desire towards another world: and as the present time doth discover sundry errours in the former, so no doubt will the future in that which is now present. So that ignorance and error, which seldome goe severed, being no other than unseparable companions of man, so long as he continueth in this terrestriall Pilgrimage: it can be no blemish in them to revise their doctrine, and to abate the rigor of certaine speculative opinions, especially touching the aternall decrees of God, the quality of mans nature, the use of his workes; wherein some of their chiefe Authours have run to such an utter opposition to the Romish doctrine, as to have exceedingly scandalized all other Churches withall, yea, and many of their owne to rest very ill satisfied. The seat of Truth is aloft, of Vertue in the midst; both places of Honour: but neither truth nor vertue draw to an utter extremity. And as in some points of doctrine, so much more in their practise; in order of government, and Ecclesiasticall degrees; in solemnities and stateliness in the service of God; in some exercises of piety, devotion, and humility, especially in set fastings accompanied with due contrition of heart and prayer; besides, many other Ceremonies; they might easily without any offence of conscience at all, frame to draw some what nearer to their opposites, than now they are

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Which yeilded on both sides, a generall and indifferent Confession and summe of Faith; an uniforme Liturgy, or not repugnant if divers; a like or at least-wise not incorrespondent forme of Church government, to bee made out of the poincts which both agreed in, and to bee established so universally in all Christian dominions, that this all Christians should necessarily hold, this onely their Divines in pulpit should teach, and this their people in Churches should exercise; which doing, the Vnity of Communion should remaine unviolated. For all other questions, it should be lawfull for each man so to beleeve as hee found cause; not condemning other with such peremptorinesse as is the guise of some men of over-weening conceits: and the handling of all Controversies for their finall compounding, to be confined to the Schooles, to Councells, and to the learned languages, which are the proper places to try them, and fittest tongues to treat them in.

And all this to bee done by some generall Councell, assembled and composed indifferently out of both the sides; mens minds beeing before hand prepared and directed to this issue and conclusion. But now if eyther the obstinnesse of the Popes ambition, or the wilfulnesse or scrupulosity of any opinionative Ministers, should oppose against and impeach this Vnity of Charity; then the **Unity of Authority** to bee interposed to assist it: that

that is, the Princes of Christendome to presse this agreement, to constrain the Pope to content himselfe with that temporall State, which the skill of his Antecessors hath got and left him; and for his spirituall to be such as the auncient Councells had limited: and for all other gain-sayers, to silence or punish them. Now for the Princes which joyntly consent to doe this, how many; how weighty motives doe induce them? The service of Christ, the honour of Christian Religion, and the peace of Christendome, the strengthening of Christians, and the repulsing and overthrow of all Turks and Infidels. And these in generall. In particular, the assuring of their owne lives and persons, which so many under pretence of Religion dayly conspire against: the quiet and secure enjoying of their rich States and Kingdomes; the transmitting of them to their posterity without question or opposition; and lastly the delivery of their miserable subjects (which should bee deare unto them as children,) from those extreame vexations of spirit and body, and those inestimable calamities in their estates and conditions, wherewith these dissensions in religion and effects thereof doe now afflict them. And this is in generall the summe of the discourse of that kind of people: which doth shew them as they are for the most part to be Protestants, though perhaps not running jump with their side in every thing; although many of the other part are carried also with the same good zeale & affection to the like desire and intention; but these are
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of the more moderate sort of the Catholikes; and not of their Clergy, and such lightly as have but an indifferent conceipt of the Popes claime and proceedings, of which sort among the wiser part of the Lairy there are very many. But now in exacter consideration of this motion, there appeare for the effecting of it sundry difficulties so great, that they draw to bee next neighbours to so many impossibilityes, whereof I will mention onely two of the chiefe. For as for the thing it selfe, I must confesse for my owne part, the greatest desire I have in the world, is to see Christendome reconciled in the badge of their profession, (seeing Vnity is consecrated to Verity, and both to God;) and that without the ruine and subversion of eyther part; which cannot be done but to the unexpressable mischiefe and misery of both sides, and with the utter enhazzarding of both Christendome and Christianity: and thinke any kind of peace were better than these strifes, which did not prejudice that higher peace betweene God and mens consciences. Then for the way they purpose, it seemeth for the generality of it, there is no other now left; seeing the opposition of extreames is no way defeasable, but by extinguishing the one, or drawing both to some temper and mildnesse of state. But in this case two things do cleane dishearten this hope. The first is the untractablenesse of the Papacy to this course, who in so many conferences as they have had in this age, have alwayes ere they departed, very plainly discovered that they came

not with such intent as to yeild any thing for peace, much lesse for truths sake, but onely to assay eyther by manifold perswasion and entreaty to reduce, or otherwise by wit to entrap and disgrace their adversaries; and if some one of them have shewed him selte more flexible at any time it hath beene his utter discredit with his owne party ever after. Which sterne proceeding of theirs, admitting the fundamentall positions whereon the Papacy is built, is good and necessary. For if divine Authority doe concurre with them in all their ordinances, Gods Spirit assist them in all their decisions, all possibility of erring bee exempted from their Pope and Church: what remains there but onely that they teach we beleive; they commaund, and the world obey? Indeed in humane governments, where reason is shut out, theretyranny thrusts in; but where God commaunds, to aske reason is presumption, to oppose reason flat rebellion. To this miserable necessity have those assertions tyed them, which they have layd for their foundation; miserabl to themselves, and miserable to the whole world. For what can bee more miserable to any ingenuous and good mind than to have entangled himselte in such a labyrinth of perplexity and mischief, as to have left no place of acknowledging his error, without ruining his estate; when as error is onely purged by due acknowledging, and doubled by denying it. And to what a miserable push have they driven the World, eyther in their pleading against them with such force of evidence,

or in their learning of them and joyning with them, as to stop the mouth of the one, and hang the faith of the other, on this unnaturall paradox; **I and my Church cannot possibly erre**, and this must you take upon our owne words to bee true. For as for their conjectural evidence out of the Scripture, there seemesto bee as much or more for the King of Spains not erring, as there is for the Popes: it being said by the Wisest, that the heart of the King is in the hands of God; a divine sentence is in his lips, and his mouth shall not transgresse in judgement.

But now as by this meanes they have debarred themselves from acknowledging, and consequently from controlling any error in faith and doctrine: so on the other side to reforme any great matter in practise, were to open the eyes and mouthes of all men against them; who now in the obedience of their blindnesse sticke fast unto them. Let them suspend from hence forward the worshipping of Images, the fleeing to the patronage of Angells and Saints by vowes and prayers: besides the great losse which it would bring unto the traine in daily offerings to their Saints and Images; what a jealousie would it breed in the heads of their own that they had led the world all this while on the blind side, and that other things perhaps were introduced for gaine, and corruptly contrived, as well as these. Then for their adversaries, their owne saying is, Yeild one thing to them, and yeild all; sith all hangs upon the same pin, and by the

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same string that any one doth. So that it seemeth not to have beene unwisely conceived by him, who said, that to perswade the Pope to any such reformation, was to perswade him to yeild up his Keyes and Crowne, and to returne into the order of his Predecessours and other Patriarchs: which to doe, as yet he sheweth no intention.

And although some one Pope should happen to bee better affected, yet would it not prevaile unto any great prooffe, beeing sure that his nearest both Counsellours and Officers, his Cardinall and Courtiers, yea, his Church & whole State would oppose against him. Then to hope that though the Pope and his Sea should withstand it, yet the learned of his side might be induced in other places to accept, and to apply themselves to some treaty of accord; I dare avouch they know them not which have that concept of them. For although it were perhaps not untruly said by a great Clerke of their own, that the Popes not erring was but an opinion of Policy, and not of Theology; to give stay to the Laity, not stop to the Divines; of whom in such infinite controversies and jarrings, about interpretations of Texts, and conclusions of science, wherein many have spent a large part of their lives, never a ny yet went, neither at this day doth goe to be resolved by the Pope; as knowing it to be true which their owne Law delivereth, that in holinesse any old woman, in knowledge many a Frier might out-goe the Pope; but in power and authority the whole World was under him: yet at this day they doe so generally all
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cling unto him and draw by his line, (as having no hope either of standing against their opposites, but onely by him; or of unity amongst themselves, but onely in him;) that touch him, and touch them; yea they thinke at least-wise some of them, that rejected name of Papist, to bee as good a name and more necessary at this day than that of Catholike; the one shewing their Vnity onely with the body, and the other with the head of the Church; which is now more needfull. It remaines that Princes take the matter in hand, and constraîne the Pope and others to yeild to some such accord. Indeed this were an onely right way to effect it. For reason is a good Oratour, when it hath force to backe it. But where are these Princes? They dreame of an old world, and of the heroicall times; who imagine that Princes will breake their sleeps for such purposes. If there were at this day a D A V I D in Spaine, a I O S I A S in France, an E Z E C H I A S in Italy, a C O N S T A N T I E in Germany; the matter were ended in very short time. But take them as they are, and as they are like to bee; beeing brought uppe in the midst of their factions and flatteries, where they seldome heare truth, and if a good motion by mischance be set on foot by one part, it is sure to bee streight crossed thorough the watchfull and industrious envie of the other: the world may hold it selfe reasonably happy and content, if the Civill state bee upheld in any tollerable termes; and not thinke that they should care greatly for reforming the Church, and much lesse for the uniting of the

State Ecclesiasticall, the dissentions whereof have and daily serve so many mens turnes.

And although it is to be acknowledged & thankfully comemorated, that this age hath not beene so utterly barren of good Princes, but that some have deserved to be enrolled among those Worthies: yet the ambition and encroaching humours of certeine, and want of correspondence requisite in other, have stopped perhaps those honourable thoughts and desseins, which might have else beene employed for the universal good of Christendome. In summe, there is small hope remaining on this part; the world having extinguished the care of the publike good, by an over-care of their private; and each projecting to passe his owne time smoothly over in pleasure, and recommending posterity to the Starres and destinie. These reasons together with the long continuance of this division, wherety both parts are formalized and settled in their oppositions; in so much that at this day they are but very few in comparison of former times that are gained eyther way; do make me greatly despaire of any successe by that course: and so esteeme of that plot, as an honest-hearted desire, but no probable dessein; and as a Cabinet discourse of speculative consideration, which practise in the world and experience doth need to rectifie.

The next point is, whether **Necessity**, which over-rules all frowardnesse, and commaunds all sturdinesse of humours and passions, may not **presse to some Unity**; if the Turke still growing as hitherto

ther to hee hath done, leave no hope for Christendome to subsist but in their inward Concord. It is true that a forreigne enemy is a reconciler of brethren, and that common danger holds them together, so long as it lasteth, who else would flee asunder upon every light occasion. But herein me thinks it cometh first to be considered, whether the Turk be so fearefull a Monarch as is commonly conceived, especially since his late so huge enlargement towards the East. That which most men esteeme in him the grand cause of error, seemeth to mee a chiefe argument of the contrary, at this present: and that is the very hugeness of the Empires. For Empires are not then alwayes at their strongest, when at their biggest, there beeing a certaine due proportion in all things, which they breaking that exceede, as well as they come short of; may bee compted to bee huge and vaste, not great; since that is great properly, which is great in his actions, which are as often impeached by unwildinesse in the big, as by weakenesse in the little. But if to this bee adjoyned, as it sometimes falls out, that there be but a little soule to move this vaste body, (which maketh some of the biggest men to bee neyther the wisest nor valiantest;) and that is, that the government, which is the soule of a State, bee scant and feeble: not able to embrace nor to order so huge affaires: then is there no other greater praesage of ruine, than very massinesse it selfe, which every strong push or justle makes reele and totter, for want of that inward strength which were requisite

to hold it steddy. And this take I to be the State of the Turkish Empire at this day: which beeing a meere tyranny, as ayming onely at the mightinesse and security of their great Lord, the sole absolute commander, without any respect to the benefit of the people under him, save onely so farre forth as may serve to beare up his greatnesse; and for that cause hee in his jealousie and distrust of his owne, keeping his Territories halfe desolate, waste, and uninhabited; his subjects without heads of Nobility to leade them, without hearts to encourage them to seeke delivery: abasing them by all kind of bestiall education, & oppressing them by all sorts of extortion and outrage, giving the Lands where hee conquereth to his Souldiers and **Ti-marri**: which scatered over all parts of his ample Empire, are the onely contented people, and onely strength in effect hee hath, as beeing bound by their tenures to serve in his warre, whithersoever hee calls them; and without his charge: This beeing his state, it is cleare, that the wildnesse and lying waste of his Countrey, is to the great diminishing of his owne wealth and renew: which is lesse than some one of our Christian Princes at this day, though his Empire much larger than all theirs together: the unpopulousnesse together with the basenesse and feeblenesse of such as are, makes that no one Countrey is defence for it selfe, but must have the concurrence of many of the rest to assist it; and lastly, the huge circuit of his soyle and confines, embracing as is esteemed, eight thousand miles
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of Land, and of Sea as many, is cause that his **Ti-**
marri cannot assemble together but in very long
time, wherein opportunities are often lost, besides
the tiring both of themselves and their horses, ere
they arrive. And the truth heereof is assured by
fresh experience, hee having done no great matter
in all this warre of Hungary, though none to
speake of but Germanie, with some small helpe of
Italy, have opposed against him. But if wee far-
ther consider the effeminatenesse of the education
of their great Lords in these times; a thing which
they are advised and constrained unto, even con-
trary often times to the manlinesse of their owne
natures, (and all to keepe the Father from jealousie
of his owne sonne, whose bravenesse of mind and
warlinesse is still suspected;) and use having soa-
ked once into their bones in youth, doth for ever
after loose the sinewes of their manly dispositions,
and subiect them to the softnesse and basenesse of
pleasures: considering also the avarice and corrup-
tion which reignes there; all peaces and warres,
all friendships and enmities, all favours and wrongs,
all Counsells and informations, being growne to
bee saleable: if these bee as they are the signes of
a diseased, and prognosticates of a dying Monar-
chy, much more of a tyranny; then surely have
wee not now so great cause to dread him, as to
blame our selves and our wranglings and vility,
who choose thus in practising to exterminate each
other, to trace out an unhonourable and fruitlesse
life, at the end finding our selves in the very same
or worse tearmes than when wee began; rather

then establishing first a firme accord at home, to attempt with united love zeale and forces, so just, so Christian, so honourable, so rich a warre. And verily if but our Princes confining upon him, though agreeing among them selves for the most in Religion, were not so strangely infected with emulations, and home-ambitions, as to condescend to pay tribute to the Turke in severall, for so doe they as a redemption each of their peace, (which yet hath no longer assurance than his pleasure, which with double as much under-hand bribes and presents must be daily sweetned;) and which is yet worse, when his list comes to invade any one of them, (as hee doth for his very exercise and avoyding tumults at home;) the rest to hold off from giving succour to their neighbours, for feare of drawing a revenge upon themselves some othertime; which is the case of the Poles and Venetians at this present, who scarcely darre so much as pray against him in their devotions, otherwise than in their hearts, which I ween they doe duly: were it not I say that their private ambitions, feares and miscasts did drive them to make so abject and unchristian a choyce, rather than zealously and violently to joyne and persue one certaine course for the rooting of him and his tyranny out of this part of the world: it were not to bee so much doubted but the feare now on this side would soone turne to the other; seeing that one good blow to a body so ill built and full of disempers, were able to put the whole in danger of ruine and shivering. These reasons

sons induce mee not to thinke that the daunger from the Turke should bee so great, as to enforce the Christians to runne mainly into an accord. And though it should, yet without other sounder working, by perfect composing of all inward discension, this would bee but a civill accord, and onely for the time; which the feare once past, would dissolve of it selfe, and the former contentions revive as fresh as ever. For the bond of common feare, is the strongest indeed of all other, but the shortest withall; which nothing during the danger is able to breake, and the danger once passed falls in sunder of his owne unsoundnesse. Howbeit if the Turke should set foote in Italy, and abate the Popes strength by possessing his state; then would I not doubt much, but that both himselfe would bee content, and all other Princes forward, that some such unity as is before spoken of might bee established. But that is a case as unlikely in short time, as in tract of time not impossible to happen, if some manly stout Turke should succede these womanish.

There remaineth then the **Unity by perswasion** onely, which both sides now seeme to rest on; each practising and hoping in proesse of time to eat out the strength of the other by his industry, in drawing away by perswasion his followers & adherents. Wherein the Protestants counteth his advantage so much the greater, in that the unity of Verity is it w^{ch} himselfe perswaded of, hee perswadeth to others. And truth being so infinit degrees stronger than untruth, having God to blesse it, Heaven and Earth and

all the Creatures of God to witnesse it, and even
 falshood it selfe (which is alwayes his owne cut-
 throat) by his crossing and contrariety to yeild con-
 fession unto it: unlesse the fault be exceedingly in
 the handler and pleader, must needes in the end,
 (maugre the malice of all enemies, and craft of all
 inventions,) prevaile and have victory: although
 the utter abolishment of the Kingdome of **Anti-
 christ**, they referre with the Prophecy to the ap-
 pearance of our Saviour in judgement and triumph
 now shortly approaching. On the other side, the
 Papists hope that their perswasion beeing seconded
 by so great Princes authority, insinuated and far-
 thered by so many collaterall ayds and motives and
 practises, leaving nothing unassayed which may pre-
 judice, afflict, or annoy their opposites, and provid-
 ing as they doe a perpetuall succession of instru-
 ments, to be employed in each kind over all parts of
 Christendome; they shall in the end tire, cate out,
 and utterly consume the strength and stomach of
 their unpolitike and divided adversaries. In the
 number whereof, though they score up all religions
 especially **Christian**, that acknowledge not the
 Pope, and the three-fold plenitude of his supernall,
 terrestriall, and infernall power; extending to Hea-
 ven in canonizing Saints; to the lower parts of the
 world in freeing from Purgatory; over the Earth
 in being the universall guide and Pastor of all men:
 yet are they not affected to all their opposites in like
 sort, speaking of such as with whom they live and
 dayly converse. For to omit the Jew whom they
 mocke with his **Messias** so long in comming; as
 also

also the Græcians, whom they pittie with their Patriarchs under Turkish slavery: their hatred is to the Lutheran, the Author of their calamity; but hatred and feare both of the Calvinist onely; whom they accompt the onely growing enemy and dangerous to their state. For as for the Lutheran, he was long since at his highest: and if hee itch and inch forward one way for an ell, he looseth another, it is onely by a kind of boysterous force and violence against the Calvinist; as in Strasbourg of late. The reason whereof besides the absurdity of their Ubiquitarie Chimera, hath perhaps beene in part also, for that their opinion tooke vp his seate in Germany, a stiffe people but an heavy; which cannot hold their owne well, but gaine little upon other men: whereas the other falling upon a livelier mettall, of the French especially, who are alwayes stirring and practising upon their neighbours, and more vehement for the while in whatsoever they affect; hath had a very huge encrease in latter time, notwithstanding those Massacres which have beene used to extinguish them, and is still growing forward in all places where once it taketh; and overtoppeth them now from whose root at first it sprang. This therefore by all meanes they seeke to repress, giving some blind hope to the Lutheran of quiet and toleration, so hee will joyne against these, the fretters out of both. But of all places their desires and attempts to recover England, have been always and still are the strongest: which although in their more sober moods sundry of them will acknowledge, to

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have beene the onely Nation that tooke the right
 way of justifiall Reformation, in comparifon of o-
 ther who have runne headlong rather to a tumultu-
 ous innovation, (fo they conceive it:) whereas that
 alteration which hath beene in England, was
 brought in with peaceable and orderly proceeding,
 by generall consent of the Prince & whole Realme
 representatively assembled in solemne Parliament, a
 great part of their owne Clergy according and
 conforming themselves unto it; no *Luther* no *Cal-*
vin the square of their Faith; what publike discuf-
 fing and long deliberation did perswade them to
 bee faelty; that taken away; the fucceffion of Bi-
 shops and vocation of Ministers continued; the
 dignity and state of the Clergy preserved; the ho-
 nour and solemnity of the service of God not aba-
 fed; the more auncient ufages of the Church not
 cancelled; in summe, no humour of affecting con-
 trariety, but a charitable endeavour rather of con-
 formity with the Church of Rome, in whatsoever
 they thought not gaine saying to the expresse Law
 of God, which is the onely approvable way in
 regard of the power and renowne of the Prince,
 and of their exemplary policy in government
 of the state in regard that they concurring entire-
 ly with neither side; yet revered with both,
 are the fitter and abler to worke Vnity betweene
 them, and to bee an umpire also directour and
 swayer of all, whensoever there should bee oc-
 casion of assembling their Counsells, or of con-
 joyning their forces for their common defence;

and

and especially for that it is the onely Nation of the Protestant party, able to encounter and affront their King. Catholickes proceedings for the rooting out of Hæresie, as their actions both by Sea and Land have manifested: of all places in the world they desire most to recover it, making full accompt that the rest would then soone follow, and apply to them of their owne accord one after another. But to as high a tide as they are risen in their desires thereof, to as low an ebbe are they fallen in their hopes, being lesse now for ought I perceiue than ever, having seene her Majesty so often and almost miraculously preserved; their treasons discovered; their excommunications vanished; their Armies defeated; their cartalls and bookes answered; their chiefe Champions discouraged, wasted, deceased; those that remaine, though many, yet few of ability; in so much but for some small remnant of hope of alteration, which time and trouble as they imagine may yet bring, their founders were likely to withdraw from them ere long their stipends, which get them but a vaine name of fruitlesse liberality. And this is all I can say for any hope or meanes of this generall Vnity, and so must I leave and recommend it to God: as being both our best and now remaining onely policy, to addresse our united and generall supplications to his divine power and Majesty: that it may please him by that ever springing fountaine of his goodnesse and gracious mercy, even beyond all humane hope, if it may so stand with his blessed will: and by such meanes as to
his

his divine wisdom are ever in readinesse to effect those things which to mans wit may seeme impossible, to extend his compassionate and helping hand over his miserable, dehed, disgraced **Church**; persecuted abroad, and persecuting it selfe at home; confined by Tyrants into a corner of the world, and therein raging and renting it selfe in fitters; to purge out of mens minds that ambition and vanity, which so bewitcheth them with the love of the pomps and glories of this perishing and ending world, which in the breathing of a breath they will loathe and despise as nothing; and to ingraft in them a pure and single Eye, to behold that eternall truth, which seen breeds love, and loved conduces to happinesse; to root out all gal and acerbity on both sides, & to bend their hearts to Charity: that being reunited in the Pilgrimage of this life, this country of our terrestriall bodies; we may after our service and course therein accomplished, ascend under the conduct of our Saviour before ascended, to our everlasting rest in the country of our celestially soules; there in Society and unity of Saints and Angels, to enjoy the happy Vision of the all-glorious Deity, and to sing his praise forever.

I should heere make an end concerning the Church of Rome, but that a question incident to the matter which was last spoken of, beeing moved by many, and diversly answered, doth summon mee to deliver up my conjecture also: and that is **Upon what ground of Equity or policy, the Pope should suffer both the Jewes and Greecians to have publike exercise of their Religion**
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in Italy, yea in Rome it selfe under his Holiness nose : and onely the poore Protestant must bee excluded or besieged; yea persecuted and chased if it bee possible out of the world, no view of his Religion to other, no exercise of it to himselfe permitted. For as for the Græcians, they have a Church at Venice, with an Archbishop of Philadelphia, a Bishop of Cerigo, and sundry other inferiour Priests to governe it: and the Italians also do often repaire to their Masse. They have their Masse also in Greeke, with leavened bread and other schismaticall Ceremonies, at Rome it selfe, and in Naples they say their Priests retaine their wives still, by permission from the Pope; in regard that in those places they acknowledge in some sort the Popes præminency and power: which at Venice they doe not; but a meere primacy of order, which the ancient Counsels have thought good to give him. No more doe the Græcians in **Apulia** and **Calabria**, about **Otronto** and at **Cassana**, nor in **Corsu** and other Ilands adjoyning to that coast, being the old remaines of the Occidentall Græcians, and who have **alwayes** and doe still follow the Greeke Church in all things: though those in **Calabria** & **Apulia** be subjects to the King of Spaine, and in his power to root out whensoever himselfe listeth. And yet even in Italy it selfe doth he suffer them and their Religion: who never could be induced to tolerate the Protestant in any the remotest corner of his huge scattered Monarchy: though the Græcians are condemned Heretickes even in matter of the Trinity, and perpetuall op-

pugners of the P apall right and authority. Then for the Iewes they ever swarme in most of the chiefe parts of Italy, at Rome especially; where the least number I could ever yet heare them esteemed at, is ten thousand and upward, though other say twice as many. They have their faire or at leastwise fine Synagogues both the re and else-where; their circumcision, their Liturgies, their Sermons in publike; and all that list may resort unto them.

Yea in meanes of enriching themselves they are so much favoured, that in all places they are permitted to streine up their Vsury to eighteene in the hundred upon the Christian (for among themselves they no where use it;) whereas halfe that summe in a Christian is not tolerated: which causeth many greedy and consciencelesse Christians to use these Iewes for their Brokers under hand in improving their unlawfull rents to the utmost proportion. They have also in some places, and it may bee in all a peculiar Magistrate, to decide any controversie betweene Christians and them, and particular direction to favour them in their trades. And lastly whereas France hath banished that race: in **Avignon** onely the Popes City they are harboured and reteined. Some answer to this demand in defence of the Pope, that the Church hath no authority to chastice the Iewes, who never were within the Church, but are as enemies in even tearmes: whereas the Protestant are either unnaturall and rebellious Children, who have flung out of the Church, or the issue of such; against whom her authority is endlesse and unrestrained, to take all courses

courses possible to reclaime them for ever. This answer seemes faulty : both as short of the question, seeing it extendeth not to the Græcians, who are in the very same roll of Hæretickes & Schismatickes, flingers out of the Church : and for that there is difference betweene exercising jurisdiction in punishing an enemy, and not harbouring and cherishing him, with his unlawfull and scandalous religion perpetually in our very bosomes ; as is done in Italy, who have called the Iewes in thither, yea and still doe entice them, whom, France and England and Spaine have banished from them long since.

Others leaving these quirks of justice, hold by the texts of charity that it is a Christian act to harbour a harmelesse enemy, and especially that it is of all other most besitting the Church, who hath hereby also better meanes to reduce them to the Faith ; and so in fine to save their soules, which is the summe of her endeavours. And in fortifying this answer there is to be alleaged for the first point, that the Iewes have their service in Hebrew, and the Græcians in greeke, which Italy understandeth not ; yea and that they have purged the Hebrew Liturgie from all points wherein they did impugne 'or scandalize Christianity : and for the second point, that the Iews are bound to repaire at sometimes to the Christian Sermons, by which meanes some few of them have beene couverted, and more may be when God shall please so. But neither seemes this answer so perfect as were requisit. For the Iewes make their sermons or expositions of the Law in the Italian language ; though the texts of Scripture they cite in the origi-

nall : and although they have purged their Liturgies
 as they say : yet leaving them Circumcision, they
 tolerate that which is now intolerable. And as for
 their gaining of any soules among them: if they gain-
 ed not more Crownes, that reason would not stand.
 For if any credit may bee given to the **Hebrewes**
 themselves, as many Fryers become Iewes as Iewes
 become Fryers: of both sorts some; but few of ey-
 ther. But of the good provision they have taken to
 convert them, and of the fruits thereof I shall speake
 hereafter. In the meane time this I aske; would they
 suffer the English Protestants to have an English
 Church there, none understanding their Language
 neither in Service nor sermons; yea and purging
 their Liturgy of whatsoever may seeme to impugne
 or deface their Religion, if their be any thing in it
 of that offensive quality? as for my part I know no-
 thing but thinke rather with great judgement it was
 purposely so framed out of the grounds of Religion
 wherein both sides doe agree that their very Ca-
 tholikes might resort to it: without scruple or scan-
 dall, if faction more than reason did not sway. Then
 for repairing to their sermons, they know by expe-
 rience they will not be backward; especiall having
 the opinion of great Divines (as some say) that it is
 not unlawfull. And lastly what reason why they
 should not bee as hopefull to gaine English mens
 soules, as Iews? yes their hopes is greater: else would
 they not be at such cost upon the one abroad, & be-
 stow so little labour upon the other at home. To
 this question they would answer first that there
 were more danger of flocking away their people, if
 they

hey should have but a bare view of our Reformed Churches, as being more infectious; and therefore no policie: and secondly to what purpose the making of any such motion; what neede unto us, and to them what profit? This answer deduced from policy and profit I take to bee the right answer also to the first principall question; and neither of the former drawne from justice or charity. For there is no cause of any feare at all, cyther of the oppressed Gracian, or of the obstinate Iew, bearing a marke of ignominy and reproach in all places. Yea they remaine rather as examples and spectacles among them of contempt & misery, the one for his ungratefull refusall of Christ himselfe; the other for his sedition against Christs Vicar, as they inferre against him. Whereas to give the Protestants any foote among them were the next way to leave themselves no foote to stand on.

On the other side by extending pity towards the afflicted and dismayed Gracian whom the hand of God hath laid as low as the very dust we treade on; they sow some hope of ranging himselfe againe under their subjection: which were to them a reputation and strength inæstimable, and such as cunningly by false broits they cause the world daily to feede on.

Then for the Iew, the profit by him is exceeding great and greater in proportion of number than by the very Courtizans; and that as well to the Pope, as to other Princes of Italy; to whom they pay a yearely rent for the very heads they weare, besides other meanes to racke & wracke them in their pur-

ses at pleasure. Which gaine, as it is a piece of the cause why the beastly trade of the one, so is it the entire reason why the trade of the other is permitted: they being used as the Friars to sucke from the meaner, and to be sucked by the greater: in so much that the Pope besides their certaine tribute, doth some times as is said impose on them a subside of ten thousand Crownes extraordinary, for some service of State.

Now to consider a little what probability of their conversion in those parts, and by the way to touch somewhate of **Their Religion and usage**. Thus stands their case. They have a Religion though somewhat strange to our conceits, as being framed not onely out of the Law of the old Bible, but also out of sundry the stranger opinions of the ancients Philosophers, together with certaine capricious fancies and fables of the Rabbins; yet so handsomly pieced and glewed together, that one part seemes to hang to the other not absurdly. And that which they hold they are so perfect in, that they will give both a profitable accompt thereof out of a certaine morall Philosophy & reason, wherein they are well seene; as also make some shew for it out of the Bible it selfe: wherein they are the skilfullest men I believe in the World: and needs must be so, setting their children to the Hebrew language at three yeeres old, and following no other study save of the Bible and writing upon it all their life long, except certaine few that betake themselves to Physicke. Touching God and his nature, their opinions are for the most very honourable and holy, save that they

they deny the Trinity touching Angells; but weake, and soyled with much poetry; touching the nature and condition of man very exquisite, and for the most part drawing neere unto truth. But for the three States of the soule of man they runne some more strange courses; holding the creation of them altogether before the bodies, with sundry of the ancient both Divines and Philosophers the *μετεμύχσις* of *Pythagoras*, (though not to different species;) and *Platoes* purgatory. Of vertue and Vice and mans course in both they thinke not much amisse; save that to the expiation of sinne they hold nothing necessary, but the repentance of the sinner, and the mercy of the forgiver, which in that case is always ready. For reward it commeth wholly from the bounty of God, without desert: yet different in degree according to the workes of each man. That the generall Law of all men is the Law of Nature onely, which who so keepes, it shall lead him to blisse in what Religion soever; though the Hebrew unto whom *Moses* Law was peculiarly given by observing it shall have a greater prærogative of glory. They prefer the civill life before the solitary, and mariage before Virginity; as being to nature more agreeable, to mankind more profitable, and consequently to God more acceptable. Their beliefe of the end of the world, and of the finall judgement, of the restoring of mens bodies, and of their happines everlasting in the heighth of the Heavens; is good in the generall. But as they thinke it a bad opinion, which some of great name have seemed to hold, that God in his everlasting and absolute pleasure should

should affect the extreame misery of any of his creatures, for the shewing of his justice and severity in tormenting them; or that the calamity, casting away and damnation of some, should absolutely and necessarily redound more to his glory, than the felicity of them all; considering that his nature is meere goodnesse and happinesse, and hath no affinity with rigour or misery: so contrariwise they thinke with Origen, that Hell in the end shall bee utterly abolished, and that the Divels themselves, after a long course of bitter repentance and punishment, shall finde mercy at his hands that did create them; that the world may entirely bee restored to that purity, wherein God at first did make it; and to that perfection and happinesse, whereto each part of it in his severall degree, was was destined by him, from whom nothing but goodnesse and blisfulnesse could proceed. Their Liturgy in the kinde of it is not different from ours; consisting of Psalmes & Prayers, with sundry shorter Hymns and responds; of lessons, one out of the Law, and read by some chiefe person; another out of the Prophets correspondent to the former in argument, but read by some boy or meaner companion.

For they in no sort allow that degree of honour neither attribute they that authority to any other part of the Bible, that they doe to the Law: which they carry about their Synagogue at the end of service in procession, with many rich ornaments of Crownes and Scepters, the children kissing it as it passeth by them; and sometimes make proclamation who will give most to their treasure to have the ho-

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now for that time for taking out the Law. But for the manner of performing their service, and their behaviour thereat, it is different from all other that ever I saw. They chaunt it in a strong wide hallowing tune; with imitation some times of trumpets; one ecchoing to the other, and winding vp by degrees from a soft or silent whispering, to the highest and lowdest note that their voyces will beare; with continuall great wagging of their bodies and exultation, as it were in some savage or raging solemnity; sometimes all springing up lightly from the ground, and with as much variety as wild worke wil receive. They weare certaine ornaments of embroidered linnen cast mantle-wise about their shoulders, which are their Phylasters edged with knotted fringe according to the number of the Commandements, and serving as Locall memories of the Law. The reverence they shew is in standing up at times, and their gesture of adoration is bowing forward of their bodies; for kneeling, they use none, no more than the Græcians, neither stirre they their boners in their Synagogue to any man, but remaine still covered. They come to it with washed hands; and in it they buine Lampes to the honour of God. But for any shew of devotion or elevation in spirit, that yet in a Iew could I never discern but they are as reverent in their Synagogue as Grammer-boyes in their schooles when their Master is absent: in sum their holines is the very outward work it selfe, being a brainlesse head and a soule-lesse body: For circumcision, they use it to the dead as well as to the living: yet no way think it necessary for the infants saluati-

on. They are a subtile and advautagious people and wonderfully eager of gaine : in so much that who so deales with them needes let his witte goe with his belicfe, or else his findings shall come short of his expectings. As earnest to make Profelytes, as ever their Ancestours: & as obstinate against *Christ*, as the Priests that condemned him. In other points they are perhaps rather to bee commended than otherwise. Their care of avoyding Fornication is such that they marry their Sonnes at Eightene lightly. Aut Adultery they would punish according to the law with death, if they had such liberty. When they breake the Law they come voluntarily as penitents to their Rabby for punishment: yet without any particular disclosing of their fault. They keepe their Fasts and solemne Feasts very duly: but as the Christians fast the night, so they the noone alwayes. They are Charitable among themselves, leaving no poore unrelieved, no prisoner unransomed; which makes them good prize upon every pretence. And although for their Usury and guilefull dealing, they are generally hated there and handled as very dogs: yet some of them I have knowne, men of singular vertue and integrity of mind, seeming to want no grace but the faith of a Christian. Each Synagogue hath his Rabbi, to expound their law, to instruct their children, to decide their differences.

For their Messias, they say now, seeing he staies so long, hee shall bee a fore-runner of the end of the World: and shall gather by his power all Nations into one fold, and so resign them up into the hands
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of that eternall Pastour. But it seemeth they expect him out of the East, whether the Spanish Iews fled, and have exceedingly multiplied. For those do they hold to be of the Tribe of *Iuda*; and these other in Germany and Italy of the Tribe of *Beniamin*; who in the honour of the more noble Tribe & to correspond with them the better, doe learne the Spanish tongue, which these still retaine.

But now to come to the point which I principally intended, which is, what probabilitie of their **Conversion in Italy**; three great impediments besides their naturall & inrooted obstinacie, I suppose there are which hinder it: the scandalls of the Christians; the want of meanes to instruct them, and the punishment or losse which by their conversion they incur. A scandall it is to see mans law directly preferred before Gods; to see so great a matter made of eating flesh on a Friday, and that Adultery should passe for so ordinary a pastime. A scandall are those Blasphemies darted up with hellish mouths against God and our Saviour, so ordinarily & openly; that some of them are become very interdictions of speech to the vulgar, & other some meer phrases of gallantry to the braver. A scandall is that forging and packing in miracles: wherein the Friars and Iews concur in equall diligence; the one in contriving, the other in discovering them. And surely this is an exceeding great scandall unto them; seeing truth is of so pure and victorious a nature, that it refuseth to bee in league with any falshood in the world, much more disdaineth to bee assisted by it: neyther can there bee a greater wrong done to a true conclusion, than to endeavour to prove it by an

untrue allegation. A scandall are the alterations
 which they are forced by the Inquisitours to make
 in their Authors and monuments of Antiquity:
 thinking that these devises are our best evidences.
 But of all those alterations they keepe a note for
 after time. A scandall is the vowing and praying to
 Angels and Saints: which they hold to bee dutie
 peculiar unto God onely, and so hath it beene esteem-
 ed among them in all ages. Yea and they note
 that the Christians pray more oft and more willing-
 ly to Christs Mother, than unto Christ himselfe or
 unto God. But the greatest scandall of all other, is
 their worshipping of Images; for which both Iews
 and Turkes call the Idolatrous Christians. Now
 this is so much the greater and of more indignitie,
 for that they generally conceive it to bee a thing
 which Christ himselfe expressly commanded; and
 that in the Gospel of Christ written by the Evan-
 gelists themselves, the Decalogue should be recited
 with omission of the second precept; as one of their
 greatest Rabbins contested with me, being induced
 into that error by some Catechismes of the Chri-
 stians which hee had seene with that fault. Now
 when they come to conference with the Priests and
 Rulers, (as sometimes they doe,) and upbraid this
 as a peremptory exceptiō against Christ those good
 men deny it not, for feare of scandalizing their own,
 but letting it passe for current, that Christ whom
 the Iews call a Carpenter, was also an Image-maker
 or howsoever an Author of the worshipping of
 them; let ke to salve up the gash which they have
 made in the plaine words of that Law which was
 sayd of every one that shalbe of this writ-

written by the finger of God, with their speculative plaisters of distinguishing betweene the Images of the true God, and the Idols of false gods; of *θεοεικία* and *λατρεία*; of intention instrumentall and finall in worship.

All which are the unfavourest drugges to the Iew in the world: who saith there was never Nation yet so blockish under the sunne, as to worship a stocke and stone as a finall object; but onely as a representation of some absent divinity: and that the Heathen themselves call the every where the *Effigies* and *Simulachra* of other; yet such Effigies as that the divine power by his vertue did sometime inhabit and worke miracles by, even as our Lady doth in her Images, in infinite places of Christendome: whereby if the poore Idiot were deceived among the Pagans so thinke sometimes that very Image some divine matter or person: as cleere is it that the like befalls infinite simple Christians, seeing their Images either to grow, or to weep and bleed, as they do often, & so infinite cures wrought by viewing or touching the. And for their degrees of worship betweene Gods Images and the Saints, they cannot perceive them, they kneele to them alike, they pray to them alike, they vow to them alike, they incense them alike; they burne candles to them alike, cloth them alike; they offer gifts to them alike; the difference if it bee any is in their inward affections: which whether the blunt and undistinguishing wits of the vulgar doe observe, they suppose a small measure of discretion may comendure. In like sort for their distinction betweene the Images of

the true God and of false gods ; they tell them that in other cases that might have this use but none in this Law ; it being expounded in other places, as prohibiting this base sensuall and seducing kind of worshipping even God himselfe by an Image, if any Image of God were possible to bee made : that thus the Law it selfe doth plainly deliver ; thus they which received the Law understood it ; thus all their holy Auncestours and learned Doctours have still interpreted ; and thus hath their Nation in all ages believed. And therefore they say for their comming to the Christian Sermons, that as long as they shall see the Preacher direct his speech and prayer to that little wooden Crucifix which stands on the Pulpit by him, to call it his Lord and Saviour, to kneele downe to it, to embrace and kisse it, to weepe upon it ; (as is the fashion of Italy) this is preaching sufficient for them, and perswades them more with the very sight of it to hate Christian Religion, than any reason that the world can alleage to love it. And these bee the scandalls, which as I have heard themselves alleage, they take on that side ; besides their **Transubstantiation** which they can at no hand digest. The puticular scandall frō the Protestants, is their mutuall dissention which they hold to proceede from the want of the Vnitie of truth in their foundation : otherwise save for their generall exceptions against Christianitie, they hold their Religion very conformable to the Law of Nature, which they account the principall. But were all the unneedfull scandalls in those parts removed, yet is there no good meanes there of
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the Iewes conversion. They complaine first, that the New Testament being the ground of our Religion, they cannot see it. That Italian translation which they had is called in & taken from them. It is printed in Hebrew letters, but not in Hebrew language, at least wise not such as they can understand. With Greeke and Latine their Nation never medled. Besides which the Inquisitours have inhibited and taken from them all Bookes that were published in that theame on eyther side, as well those that have beene written in defence of Christian Religion, as the contrary against it; alleaging they will have no disputing in matter of Religion eyther way: much like to an Edict set vpp at **Dola** in the **Franch County**, where the Iesuites reside, forbidding any talke of God eyther in good sort or bad. Then lastly for those few Sermons they are bound to reparaire to, seldome where I have beene are they directed to the Iewes or to the points they stick on, but hold on their usual renour, as respecting more the christians. The last encouragement to men especially of that mettall, is that at their conversion to Christianity they must quit their goods to the Christians. And the reason is for that in Baptisme they renounce the divell & all his works; part whereof are the Iews goods, being gotten either by themselves or by their Ancestours with Vsurie. Now this is such a cold comfort to a man set on the world as that Nation is wonderfully; that for my part I have not heard of any converted in those parts, save some few Physicians with some of their children; who by friendship from the Pope have obtained

ned dispensation to retaine their goods still, in as much as they were gotten by their honourable profession. But if on the contrary side the Christians would againe in their Charity give somewhat for the competent entertainment of such as for Gods sake did give up their owne; I could not but well commend that rigour of Iustice, which the bountifullnesse of this Mercy did mitigate and assweeten. But being no such matter there remains nothing for a Jew converted, but to bee Friered; a trade which of all other they least can fancy, as being contrary, as they alleage, to nature it selfe, which hath made man sociable, and each helpfull unto other in all civill duties; a trade never commanded or commended by God; never practised or counselled by their renowned Ancestors, who received continuall instruction and inspiration from above, which none of their Patriarchs or Prophets have given example of; onely in three or foure thousand yeares *Elias* & some one other have beene found upon very extraordinary cause to have taken also an extraordinary course of life; though of other nature, and to other purpose, than the Voraries of our times. And these are the tearmes that the Jews stand in, in those parts; & so must I leave them to the merciful cure of God; an unblest and forsaken people; obstinate with in and scandalized without, indefatigable in their expectation, untractable in perswasion, worldly, yet wretched; received of their enemies, but despised and hated; scattered over all countries, but no where planted; daily multiplying in number, but to the encrease of their servitude & not of their power;

power; in summe, a long continuēd and marked example of Gods just severity; to abate their pride that glory even as they, in their Auncestours and Founders, Gods Temple and Oracles, many promises and prerogatives, long continuance in honourable estate and glory: (which things were they sufficient to preserve any sea in the world, even their seat had been preserved by them:) and to proclaime to the whole world that there is no assurance of the favour, protection, and assistance of God, (without which all falls to ruine,) but by beleeving in his Son, and in keeping his Commandements. And this also may seeme touching the Church of Rome sufficient.

Next followeth the **Greeke Church**, enthralled all in a manner save the Muscovites and the Candians, with some few other of no great name and number, under the Turkish tyranny. Of which Church, as their farre distance from us requireth not to speake much, so their uniformity in misery yeeldeth not much to be spoken. For their Religion, except onely their auncient error touching the proceeding of the holy spirit from the Father alone, wherein they have long dissented from al the Latine or West Church; in other points they seeme to stand in some middle termes of opinion betweene the Romanists and Protestants, yet so that in the more, they approach to the Church of Rome: and to the Protestants in the more weighty, or at leastwise more dominative. With Rome they concur in the opinion of Transubstantiation, and generally in the sacrifice and whole body of the Masse; in praying to Saints: in auricular confession: in offering of sacrifice and prayer for the dead: and in these without any or no materiall

difference. They hold Purgatory also and the worshipping of Pictures. But for Images they will not so much as endure them in their Churches; as well for that proclivity they have to traine away the ignorant into crime of Pagan error; as also to avoid that similitude betweene their Churches and the Heathenish Temples of Idols, which imagery doth cause. And for their Pictures, they kneele to two onely, of Christ and our Lady: the rest they passe over with an ordinary reverence. For Purgatory, they hold none in Hell or in the skirts thereof, or by any outward torment, but that the soules of the faithfull are not received into glory, till by an extreame compunction and anguish of minde, they have worne out those staines, with which sinne and the pleasures thereof in this life defile them. In summe, those opinions which grew into the Church before the separations betweene the Greekes and the Latines, & all those Ceremonies which were common unto both, they still retaine; as their crossings, and tapers, with certaine other. But for those superstitions which have crept in, in fresher memory, or which were if as auncient, yet not so current; and in generall all those Canons of the Romish faith, which have been thrust on them in these latter times, by the unaccountable power and pride of the Papacy tending to the advancement of their owne sea, and to the exempting of their Church and doctrine from tryall; by those Anabaptisticall fancies of the spirit that moves them, and protects them from error in their consultations and resolutions touching matter of faith, extenuating the sufficiency and authority of the Scripture in comparison of their spirit or Church guided by it;

it; all these things they abhorre no lesse than the Protestant. They hold understanding requisite to concurre with affection for the accomplishment of devotion in praying to God: and although their Liturgies are the same that in the old time, namely *Saint Basils*, *Saint Chrysostomes*, and *Saint Gregories* translated, without any bending of them to that change of Language which their tongue hath also suffered: yet doe they say that alteration is not so great but that their people with small accustoming understand the Liturgies well enough. But for praying by tale with *Saint Dominicks* round competers, they esteeme of it no better than those Heathenish repetitions and unnaturall lip-labours which our Saviour censured. Neither can they believe that the Apostle *Saint James* the lesser who is painted under the Papacy with his great beades at his girdle, (even as *Mary Magdalen* lightly praying before a Crucifix,) was *Saint Dominicks* disciple; but a wiser mans farre, and one that introduced a better fashion of praying, if the world could have beene content to have followed his prescript. In like sort for the holy-water so much used under the Papacie; they believe no such feare that the Devill should have of it, nor such force in it to purge sinne, as their neighbours doe teach. They repute it a very vaine opinion that the Church cannot erre, both in the whole and very part thereof, and consequently that their neighbours of Rome had bestowed their paines better, which they have spent in proving and perswading that they cannot erre, in providing and caring more not to have erred. They acknowledge that there is sufficient doctrine in Scripture for salvation; though to the auncient

usages of the Church, and writings of ancient Fathers, they yeeld due reverence. Three things in the Pope they condemne especially; his pride, his cruelty, and his presumption most of all; his pride, in arrogating so exorbitant a jurisdiction over all the Church, contrary to the degrees of auncient Councils, and upon shadow of right or good foundation; but chiefly in usurping that temporall tyranny over Princes and their States, in deposing of the one, and disposing of the other, at his absolute pleasure: his cruelty in persecuting other Christians with such extremity for their different opinions: his presumption in mounting up into the seat of God, by dispensing with the Lawes of God, and graunting pardons for sinne, and **Liberaties** out of Purgatory; which they accompt to be of those royall prerogatives incident to God onely. For as for the doctrinall foundation of those **Indulgences, overplus of merits and satisfaction in some**, being more than they needed or than were to be required with any joyes of Heaven in their particular persons, and consequently remaine as a perpetuall treasure to the Church, to bee conferr'd by the Pope on his weaker & lesse deserving or rather lesse satisfying children, (for so is their opinion:) so farre are they from prizing merits at such an inestimable valew, that contrariwise they concur in assertion with the Protestants, that it is impossible for any creature to merit as by way of right the least dramme of reward at his Creatours hands; the service of ten thousand millions of Worlds, being not able to adde any shadow of perfection to him, who is **Perfection it selfe**, having whatsoever is good or desirable within himselfe, even from all eternity, in infinite of degree, and

and with impossibility of any the least addition. But whatsoever reward is bestowed on the creature, floweth forth from the meere bounty and graciousnesse of the Creatour, who as in goodnes alone and meere grace did make him, so in goodnes and meere grace also doth advance him unto that higher happinesse.

That service intermediall which hee requires at his hand, is a gracious disposition of sweetest harmony from the unexplicable wisdom of a Lord and Father, still abounding and still enlarging his hands, in all bounty and goodnesse towards his sonnes and servants; and destined to no other than to the creatures behoofe, to his benefit and advancement onely: that by his requisite endeavours in those honourable wayes, of wisdom and vertue, of love and thankfulnessse, and of imitating his maker in doing good in the world; hee may grow being assisted with divine grace and vertue, to an higher degree of goodnesse, still perfecting more and more all the faculties and parts of his imperfect soule and nature; whereunto also an higher degree of glory is proposed, and reserved by the great Rewarder in the height of the Heavens, as a full and finall accomplishment of his whole desires, and as the Crowne of his coelestiall blessednesse. Now as in this opinion they agree in generall with the Protestants; so doe they mightily dissent from that doctrine touching the æternall Councells of God; which *calvin* as some conceive first fully revealed, or rather introduced into the Christian world; and since some of his friends and followers have seconded; as thinking it very injurious to the goodnesse of God, and directly and immediately opposite to his very nature. In regard whereof one of their Bishops hath

written a booke against it, which hath beene sent to Geneva, and there received. Thus much of their doctrine; which though I know it may be better and fullier had in their bookes, yet have I not thought it inconvenient to deliver thus in briebe, how I have found them also in speech and conference effected.

Their **Liturgies** for the substance are those three I have named: all which they use for varieties sake, in the severall times and feasts allotted for them. For the forme and ceremonies they resemble much the Latins, though of the two the French Masse more than the Italian; not onely in their holy bread; but especially in their Altar, which with great mystery as is said they both enclose from the people, that the **Arkana** of those their ineffable crossings and convertings may not be prostituted and polluted by unsanctified view; whereas the Romanes finding no such vertue in that mystery, lye faire and open on all sides to all eyes. In their host they use Leaven, which the Latines avoid: and they elevate it forward; which the Latines doe backward: and neere the body of the Church; which the other doe at the Altar. In their crossings they are very plentifull: but herein swarving from the Latins, that the Greeke (who is more nimble therein) begins his crosse-barre on the right side, and the Latins on the left, each with his severall mystery. They have also a mystery in shifting and reshifting in one and the same Masse from one Altar to another; which the Latines have not: who contrariwise in one Church have a dosen Masses sometimes all going at once to severall Altars; which the Gracians use not for ought I could see. They have much ado with their lights, in putting them out and
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in againe at severall times and parts of their service. And their Liturgy is intermedled much with singing; performed in a tune, neither very artificiall, nor altogether neglected; but grave, alternated, and branched with divers parts.

At the Creed, the Priest commeth forth at the doore of the Chancell, and holds up a little embroïdered picture of Christ on the Crosse: towards which they doe reverence and pronounce their beleefe. Their gestures of reverence, are the very same with the Iewes; standing up and bowing forward their bodies at times. For kneeling they use none, save onely as they say one day in the year. At their comming in, they bow themselves thrice toward the Altar, and three times crosse themselves. At their departure, having taken their holy-bread, with kissing the Prælates hand from whom they receive it, they finally salute the Pictures of Christ and our Lady, kissing also their hands which are plated over with mettall because of wearing. But the Græcians Pictures of Christ and our Lady are nothing like to the Latines; but as different as any ordinary two faces that a man shall see. The most uniformity therein that I have seene, is with us in England. For in Italy there is little, especially of our Lady: whose very Pictures which they say S. Luke himselfe, partly did draw, and partly began, and Angels did finish, may argue perhaps devotion towards her in the drawers, but small acquaintance: unlesse her face were very variable, or very slender their skill: somewhere as at Loretto she is painted like a blacke-moore. In summe, they have so little knowledge of her countenance and favour, that in some places they

they will assemble divers of their fairest Courtizans, (as I have heard it reported,) to draw the modest beauty of a Virgin out of the fragrancy of Harlots.

But to returne to the Gracians, and to come now to their **Gobernement**; which is as the world knowes, that annient, by Patriarches, Archbishops, and Bishops with other Orders inferiour. Vnto whom the people carry exceeding respect and reverence, as it were to the publicke Fathers and Heads of their Nation, notwithstanding that calamity wherein the Tyranny of the Turke hath plunged them. They have also a Religious Order amongst them of Saint *Basil*, the great founder of the East Monkes; as Saint *Benedict* of the West. These onely have their vowes of Chastity and austeritie and may not marry; which to the rest of the Clergy is not prohibited. They have also their proper habit: but shaven they are not, for ought I could discerne; no more are their Priests, being a Ceremony so bald, that the very Priests in France are ashamed of the marke, and few of them have it that can handsomely avoid it. But as in the multitude of their Religions, they differ much from the West Church, the Gracians having but this onely one order of Saint *Basil*, and the Latines having multiplyed therein to greater store and variety, than there are professions in a common-wealth, or trades in a City; so also in their use and course of life. For the Romane-Monkes, by the with-drawing themselves from the society of other men, and living and dying within their solitary Cloisters; do bereave the world of that benefit of duty and service wherein each man is bound to the behoofe of other; alledging in place thereof the blessings which their

their assiduitie and fervor in prayer, not interrupted her-
cured by secular conversements draw downe upon the
world, as may bee godlily believed without further
prooffe: whereas the Greeke-Monks seeme to continue
that aunccienter and more approved institution of them
by spirituall meditations and exercises, and by severitie
to make themselves fitter to serve in the Church of God
in Ecclesiasticall calling with exemplary holinesse, and
accordingly their Prelats & other principall Priests, are
chosen in most places out of their order in greatest part.
These guides of their Church have a wonderfull care,
continually pricked with the acerbities of much feare &
griefe of heart, least their persecuted flocke, gasping as
it were in the helpelesse and comfortlesse extremitie of
all kinds and degrees of misery, having famine of soules
and great blindnesse within; for want of plaisters and
meanes to maintaine them; without seeing nothing but
triumphs over Christ and scornes of his Religion; in-
solencies and violences against their persons, oppres-
sions and extortions upon their goods, rapins and mur-
derings of the very soules of their children, (a case to
be bewailed with teares of blood by all Christian harts
that know it;) hearing the onely Anchor and stay of
their soules, which is their expectation of the comming
of Christ and of future salvation, daily derided and
blasphemed by the pride of the mighty; and finally,
seeing no shadow of any hope of delivery from this
long calamity, under the burthen whereof they grone
and are consumed: should in the end fall away and re-
volt to Turcisme; inviting them unto it with all the
baits of ease, of wealth, of pleasures, of freedome, prof-
peritie and worldly glory: in which fearefullnesse of
h h i mind,

mind the onely remedy remaining, is the vertuous use of their owne example in constancy and patience, and the avoyding of all scanall to their people. Which is the cause that they will not here of reforming any things; not I suppose upon any presumptiō or obstinacy of mine, as disdainig reformation, but as trembling at alteration which must needs accompany it; lest their people perceiving so they had been amisse in some things might suspect the possibility of like error in the whole; and so fall mainly whether the force of power & worldly prosperity, a chiefe argument to the ignorant and vulgar minds, should sway the. As on the other side their doubt of farther inasperating the Turke in his cruelty against them, considering that in Greece and all other parts of Europe the Christians under the Turke doe very manifoldly exceed in number the Mahometans themselves: may be a cause why in their generall they hold so small intelligence & correspondence with the **West-Church** of one side or other; and are like to continue so, whilst their thraldom and cause of their feare shall last: though in their particular they will declare a brotherly affection to both, and desire of the unity of all in one truth. But for the Turke himselfe, hee must full accompt that wheresoever the **West-Christians** should stoutly invade him, the **East-Christians** under him would run to their aid, if they saw any likelihood that they should prevaile. And this hath bin seen already more then once by example; and he provides accordingly.

The **Muscovites** are a great Church, a free & puissant; not schismatickes from the Græcians, as some in disgrace of both deliver, though perhaps not fully concurring in all points. Neither yet is it true which o-
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ther of a contrary conceite have rumored, that the Patriarch of Constantinople hath removed his Seate to Mosco, whether he went onely to erect that Sea into an Archbishoprick, which before it was not, and so returned. But the Turke to keepe the Muscovites from stirring against him, doth caule the Tarrarians to make often incursions and roades into their Country; that so being alwaies in inward awe from an other side, they may have lesse leasure and withall lesse stomacke, to embrace any outward thoughts or desires of enterprizing or combining with other Christians against him. It were needlesse now to enter into any view of their *Libes*, neither could it serve any way, to the honour or reproach of their Religion or government; being maimed, interrupted and stopped in his operations of what qualities soever, though his tyranny who striveth by all means to plant barbarousnesse amongst them: as knowing that neither Civility did found his Empire, nor with civilitie could it long continue. But the case is generall and experience sheweth it in all places, that although a sweete minde and pure conversation bee the naturall fruites of a sound beliefe and perswasion; yet the afflicted in all Religions grounded upon truth, how contrary soever otherwise, are in their farre greatest part men of conscience and honesty, save onely where hopes draw other humours to them. For it cannot proceede from lesse than a vertuous affection to prefer the sinceritie of conscience before worldly glory; howsoever it may be stained with other erronious opinions. As on the contrarie side even the purest Religion in prosperitie, draweth to it an infinite of good com-

panions and time-servers, who being trayned up in the exactnesse of kitchen and cup-discipline, make their rendez-vows always where the best cheere is stirring; and follow Christ upon a sharpe devotion, but to his bread not to his doctrine. In which regard the fruits of life in divers Religions and Governements, are not to be compared but where their prosperity or adversity are equal. And even so doth it fall out in this particular we now speake of; where the Gracian, who is counted by the corruption of his Country to be naturally a false and crafty merchant, a seditious and stirring person in all kinds of government; is now become humble, obedient, grave, and peaceable, & surely addivine service giveth more shew of devotiō than the Romanists in any place for ought I have yet seen. But the lamentable calamity of this afflicted and distressed Church, once flourishing in all worldly prosperity and glory, now such as it hath pleased the rage of the wild Bore to leave it, able to melt & dissolve even a marble heart into streames of mourneful teares, doth cause me in due sense of compassiō of their misery to presse with the humble petition of a mind pierced with griefe to the just Iudge of the world, the Redeemer of mankind and the Saviour of his erring people; to cast downe his glorious and pitifull eyes upon them; to behold on the one side his triumphant fierce enemy persecuting without end or measure; on the other side his poore servants trodden down & persecuted without help or hope or comfort; to break and dissolve the pride and power of the one, and to comfort the astonished and wasting weakness of the other with some hope of succour and final delivery, to inspire the hearts of christian princes their

their neighbours, compounding or laying aside their endlesse and fruitlesse contentions, to revenge their quarrell against the unjust oppressour: to deliver now at length the church of that bane, the world of that ignominy, mankind of that monster of Turkish tyranny, which hath too long ravaged and laide desolate the earth. A smal thing were it, if his renew and treasure were only supplied and maintained out of their goods and labours, or if their bodies and lives were only wasted and worne out in his works and slaveries, it might be suffered. For goods are transitory and death is the end of all worldly miseries. But to be forced to pay a tribute also of soules to his mahomet; to have their forwardest & dearest children snatcht out of their bosoms to be brought up in his impious and bestiall abominations, and to be employed in the murdering of them that begat them; and in the rooting out of that Faith wherein they were borne and baptized, & which only were able to bring their soules to happinesse: this surely is an anguish and calamity insupportable, and which cryeth unto God in the heavens for release. How long shall the hatefull name of the cursed Seducer, upbraid the glorious and lovely name of our Savior? How long shall his falshood insult over our faith? How long shall his barbarisme oppresse civility, & his tyranny affront the true honour of all lawfull government? But how long soever; this stands most sure for ever, that the judgments of God are just, & directed even in his sharpest and most rigorous chastisements to the benefit of the world, and instruction of men; and sound to us besides other things, this admonishment alowd, that if in those people among which our Saviour himselfe conversed

at what time his beautifull steps honoured the world, if in those Churches which his Apostles so industriously planted, so carefully visited: so tenderly cherished, instructed and confirmed by so many peculiar Epistles & for whom they sent up so many fervent prayers, yea, unto who are remaining those particular letters which the spirit of the highest endited in the very Heavens, & sent downe unto them for a forewarning and preventing of that plague which is since through their great neglect befallne them, if besides these spirituall prerogatives and graces, the puissance and glory of the great Empire of the world, the Christian Empire of Rome, being translated unto them, and seated in their lappes, with promise of perpetuity to their present prosperity, such then was the strength thereof: notwithstanding when they fell away from the first Zeale and Charity; when knowledge the right mother of Humility, made them swell, when they envied each others graces, which they ought to have loved; when abundance of all things bred wantonneffe instead of thankfulness; in fine, when they forgot the author of all their blisse, and fell one to snarling and biting at another, instead of putting up and forgiving offences, if not for the reconciling name of brother-hood, yet for his sake who was Father and equall Lord of both: it pleased God to suffer that a base thiefe and a wicked, with a traine of desperate & forsaken vagabonds, to the eternal reproach of all their wisdom and policy should advance himselfe so by his industry, and their security, and grow to such an height in his successours and followers, as to be a terrour and amazement to all the world, to themselves in inexplicable and unsuccourable calamity to strip them of all those

those graces and blessings, which ungratefulnes would not acknowledge, pride and wantonnesse did abuse; and to heape on them as much misery, as the fury of a barbarous and merciles tyrant can inflict upon such as have no meanes to appease him save their calamity alone, nor to withstand him besides their patience; then surely we, who come short of them so farre in pledges of favour, and equall them in our fault; and they who have had in particular the like threatening caveats of cutting off and not sparing, notwithstanding all the vertues of their honourable Auncestors; may thinke it high time to enter into a more serious cogitation of our wayes; to turne all our policies and contentions against others, into an humble and sincere examination of our selves; that repentance and amendment may prevent those punishments which wickednesse hath deserved, and obstinacy now highly doth provoke.

It remains that I should proceed to the **Churches Reformed**: of which there are many things also to bee said. But the feare of having over-wearied your Grace with my length in the former, drawne on by multitude and variety of matter, still freshly presenting it selfe contrary to my opinion and first intention doth cause mee to deferre the rest till some other occasion. In the meane while I presume to offer this to your Graces good acceptance, as a testimony of that dutie and thankesfulnesse which I beare and owe: so doe I gladly also submit it, to bee censured and controlled by your Graces judgement and wisdom. For however, I have waded herein with that uprightness
of

of mind I trust, which becommerh a lover and sercher
 of truth; & have also to my best avoyded that rashnesse
 and lightnesse in beliefe, to which they that are subject
 swallow downe much, which fills them with wind in-
 steed of nourishment: yet viewing on the other side in
 such a multitude at this day, who perhaps with like in-
 tegritie, equall warinesse, more diligence, and mani-
 foldly more meanes of certaine information, have deli-
 vered either histories or other particular relations how
 few have not stumbled upon many an error, where they
 thought was nothing but plaine ground and truth: I
 cannot have that affience or presumption of my good
 fortune, as to hope to bee the man alone that should hit
 truth in all things. But rather as fore-seeing almost an
 impossibilitie of not often erring in matter of this large
 and scattered qualitie, depending also so much upon
 coniectures & reports: do willingly subiect whatsoe-
 ver I have said, to be gainesaid by the better information
 of any other; and shalbe alwaies ready to make honou-
 rable amends to truth, by recalling and defacing what-
 soever may seeme in any wise repugnant to it: as profes-
 sing the truth onely, which I have sincerely & unparti-
 ally endeavored to deliver, to be the fruit of my desire;
 and the errors which I have incurred to bee the weedes
 of my ignorance. So take I with all dutie, most humble
 leave of your Grace.

From Paris. IX. Aprill. 1599.

Copied out by the Authors original, and finished,

3. Octob. An. M. DCXIII.





